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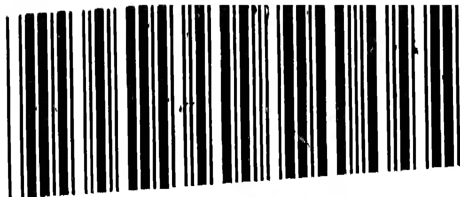

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By Daniel Chauncey Brewer

Rights and Duties of Neutrals
The Peril of the Republic
The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant

The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant

By

Daniel Chauncey Brewer

Author of "Rights and Duties of Neutrals," "The Peril of the Republic," etc.

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D. C. B.

Boston, May, 1926.

CONTENTS

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

NEW ENGLAND AS IT WAS AND IS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	—Retrospect and Reflection	3
II.	—Contemporary New England	9

PART II

THE MAKING OF THE YANKEE

NEW ENGLAND—A TRAINING GROUND

III.	—Physical New England	17
IV.	—The Progenitor of the Yankee	24
V.	—The Evolution of the Yankee	30

PART III

EXPANSION AND DETERIORATION

FROM HOMOGENEITY TO HETEROGENEITY

VI.	—Expansion	55
VII.	—Here They Come!	84
VIII.	—New England in the Eighteen Fifties	105
IX.	—Releasing the Brakes	110
X.	—1860–1880—Pause	135

CHAPTER PAGE

XI.—The New Immigration . . . 150
XII.—Colonization 161

PART IV

INVASION

XIII.—The Pull of the Mills . . 193
XIV.—Accelerated Invasion . . . 220
XV.—The Awakening 232
XVI.—The Testimony of the Town Record 241

PART V

CONQUEST

XVII.—A Glimpse into the Future . 261
XVIII.—The Immigrant in Occupation—Cities 265
XIX.—The Immigrant in Occupation—The Countryside . . . 287
XX.—The New American Child . . 304
XXI.—The Immigrant in the Saddle . 320
XXII.—Fate—Vital Statistics . . 338
XXIII.—Yankee Culture—The Immigrant's Hope 360

The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

New England As It Was and Is

CHAPTER I

RETROSPECT AND REFLECTION

THIS book has to do with the invasion, the occupation, and the conquest of New England by Continental Europeans within the memory of the passing generation.

The theme deserves the attention of all Americans who are resident in sections that have been and are vitally affected by immigration. This because their vested interests, their liberties, and the hopes of their progeny are at hazard. In due course the subject will be adequately treated by the historian. The Nation cannot wait to have the facts handled with distinction.

Loyal America today may be compared to an army which is battling for a cause dear to its nationals and of consequence to the race. Vantage points won yesterday by sacrifice are now imperilled. Through the crash of conflict comes a suggestion of disaster to a contingent of shock troops which has been ripped to shreds. It has been reinforced, but its personnel is changed. If it gives way there may be a debacle. There is

consequent occasion for the getting of a reasonably accurate message as to what is transpiring, to men of action stationed elsewhere along the line.

Scholars hereafter will shape the narrative of events now passing for posterity. Crude facts and sound implications therefrom are the need of the moment. Refraining from pressing analogy too far I assert that the swamping of classic New England by immigration is a matter of the utmost consequence to every inhabitant of this section, and to the Nation. Yesterday Yankees were a compelling factor in the Republic. As a people they are now of the past. Hundreds of thousands of them remain in their old stamping grounds. Millions as individuals are scattered through the United States. As a community they no longer exist. Hardly had their sun risen than it colored the skies at setting. Today men and women of recent European birth physically possess New England, and probably control its vote. Nothing but what is admirable can be said of those who have developed an affection for Republican institutions, but no one claims that these immigrants compare with the wilderness-trained stock which is now disappearing. New England, therefore, has lost vigor as well as character.

Three matters I claim should hold the attention of the American people—perhaps of the World—viz:

1—The disappearance of the Yankee as a political factor;

2—The substitution therefor of people with other traditions, who now hold the land as by conquest;

3—The cause of this marvellous happening.

Others may well concentrate upon the first and second of these themes. I shall endeavor to handle both in such a way as to show a reason for the dramatic episode which is the third matter of consequence.

Fifty years is a brief span in which to win the territory and threaten the culture of a great people! It is conceivable that this can be done by force of arms, although history records few such instances. It would be inconceivable that it could be brought about by peaceful invasion, if individuals now living had not seen *the conquest of New England.*

Fifty years ago there was no prouder people on the earth than that which occupied the territory east of the Hudson River in the United States. Homogeneous in race, and vigorous in personnel, they had mightily asserted themselves during a war fought in vindication of great principles. With their battle flags now bestowed so as to catch the eye, and encourage a generous spirit of emulation, they had set themselves not only to the development of the resources of New Eng-

land, but to the performance of great tasks outside of their own province. In both undertakings they were soon to command the attention of Europe as well as of America. It was a New Englander who laid the Atlantic Cable—a New Englander who early proposed a code of International Law—and they were New Englanders who belted the hemisphere with the Union Pacific and other trans-continental railroads. These were world accomplishments and paralleled the home enterprises which brought wealth through industry.

Men and women who are still vigorous were taught as children that New England ships were in every sea—that the cities along the Merrimack Valley were securing an enviable primacy in the field of textile manufacturing, that Massachusetts towns were providing footwear for the world, and that Yankee notions had created a universal demand for ingenious trifles. They assumed with reason that New England was industrially squaring with the great traditions which had given it political distinction as the birthplace of democratic institutions and modern education.

That was fifty years ago. In the decade that has followed, these same men and women have seen a great drift of foreign peoples come into the borders which their ancestors made safe and habitable—push up the valleys dearly bought in the Indian Wars of the Colonial period—and possess the land. It is safe to say that no human being since

history began to be written ever witnessed so astonishing a conquest of a major people. Phillip's subjugation of the ancient Greek centers of culture was a conquest of Greeks by Greeks, and the whole peninsula shared in the glories of Alexander the Great. Rome crumbled through a period of centuries leaving the seat of empire Roman in tongue and culture. Conquered Flanders has remained Flemish under various masters; Poland continues Polish; and Bohemia is Bohemian in spite of vicissitudes. The Christian peoples that were deluged by the western moving wave of Ottoman Turks prior to the siege of Vienna maintained their vitality as to personnel and culture, and Granada continued Moorish long after the Moors were forcibly ejected. Thus it has remained for the descendants of a vigorous British stock to win an unenviable record, without precedent for pusillanimity in the vital matter of race integrity.

How has this happened? This study has been undertaken in an effort to find the answer! The task has included the gleaning of information regarding the people who have been supplanted, as well as a review of present conditions in the territory they long occupied. To perform it properly I have found it necessary to get back to the beginnings of New England, note the reaction upon the Yankee of experiences which are historic, and acquaint myself with the motives

that compelled him. This bit of work accomplished, it has been possible to introduce the immigrant and mark how from being a small factor in New England life he has come to dominate the country.

I am conscious that I have risked losing my reader by delaying facts and figures regarding the European invasion until New England and its English-speaking creators have been discussed. I dare to hope, however, that those who prefer facts regarding present conditions to a discussion of past but vital happenings, instead of discarding the book, will turn at once to its later chapters. In these facts crowd for recognition.

With this digression, I return to the question—"How has this happened?" How shall we explain why New England, which was Yankee yesterday, is European today? It does not appear to have been by the sword, not by the political manœuvring of envious states, not by the movement of racial groups compelled by economic causes outside of New England, but plainly and strangely enough by causes working from within. There will be those who will say that these may be succinctly summarized by the use of an ugly word—"Greed." "It has happened," such say, "through greed. New England is no longer New England, and this has happened because it preferred wealth (unconscionable wealth), to inherited well-being." Let us see if this answer is not the true answer.

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY NEW ENGLAND

IT seems proper at this juncture to present certain facts and figures with but little comment thereon. These are given because there are many people who still hesitate to accept the statement that the New England of 1875, which might well have been characterized as "Yankee Land" because it had developed its own culture and produced a type that was *sui-generis*, has been the subject of conquest. The reader who acquaints himself with these hard, dry figures and compares them with figures that have to do with the homogeneous population of New England fifty and seventy-five years ago can come to his own conclusions. If he learns that a new and mongrel stock has been substituted for the generation that met the reaction following the Civil War, he will find further inquiry profitable.

New England, which is so-called because it was settled and occupied during the early Colonial period by Englishmen, comprises six states of the United States of America. It is bounded on the North by Canada, on the West by the State

of New York, on the East and South by the Atlantic Ocean and its estuaries. It is occupied by heterogeneous peoples, drawn largely from Continental Europe, who speak various languages and reflect the culture of radically different races. A fair proportion of these exercise the franchise, and are entitled to participate in the ordering of their affairs. The remainder, numbering some one-third of the whole, are expected to obey the police laws, but are without political responsibility. These drift across the country obedient to the pull of economic law, or colonize in racial communities which reflect the culture of their several groups rather than that of the American people. While they furnish an important source from which the more densely populated states recruit their electorate, they suffer little by depletion, first—because the new voter is inclined to continue in an environment with which he is familiar, and second—because their shifting armies and colonies receive constant accessions from immigrants entering the New England ports of Boston, Providence and Portland, or the nearby harbor of New York City. This is made plain by the returns of the U. S. Commissioner General of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1922, which show that 11,775 more immigrant aliens entered New England than departed therefrom.[1]

[1] This is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the net of all immigrant aliens for 1922.

The whole population of New England in 1920 was supposed to number 7,400,000 souls. Of these little more than 2,803,000 were of stock long resident in the country. The latter, which are of British origin, include some families of wealth and importance, many in the professional classes, and a fair proportion of traders. It also includes a great number of aged, infirm and unprogressive persons in the rural districts which are frankly decadent because the youth and energy which formerly characterized these sections have responded to the call of the West. For the present this element as a whole is of some importance because of inherited possessions, the inertia of business enterprise projected some years ago, or social position. In another generation it promises to be negligible!

The mass of the people in New England are designated in the United States Census as foreign white stock. This, when the negroes are added, numbers 4,591,000 individuals of varying shades and complexions; persons of Nordic origin, Latins, Asiatics, and the flotsam and jetsam of mixed races.

It is this foreign stock, which in a period of a little over fifty years has occupied the strategic sections of the Eastern States, and dominating the present, controls the future of New England. Facts, and the conclusions drawn therefrom, which justify this statement, will appear in later chap-

ters. For the present it will be sufficient to call attention to certain other figures which are impressive, and thereafter in a broad way to indicate the racial groups which have a part in the singular coalition of races which has ousted the Yankee from his home.

These figures indicate that one-third, or 935,000 of the native stock of native parentage are located in the country; two-thirds of them living in sections of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine which are distant from the centers of commerce and political influence; while 3,902,000, or three-fourths of the foreign stock (without counting negroes) are not only designated as urban, but are found to be in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, which, from their location, retain the industrial primacy of New England.

The larger part of the native rural population remains where it was swept when the Yankee tide was high, among the northern hills and lakes. There it remains like salt seaweed left by a retiring tide. It has the pungent odor of the sea, but it is not the sea. In contrast, the foreign stock of the industrial states (not only includes more than half of the whole population of New England, but) is located in cities and towns whose aggressive activities have given them no little fame. Thus—four foreign stock races alone contribute more than one-half of the inhabitants to the three largest cities of New England,—

Boston, Providence and Worcester,—whose aggregate population in 1920 was 1,165,000. Thus—two-thirds of the people in the ten industrial cities which rank next to those cited and contain one-sixth of the whole population of New England, are of foreign stock. The status of these ten cities is reflected in the average factory town.

There is significance in these facts which the reader should be quick to grasp. Meantime to give them color, reference should be had again to the 1920 Census. This, without recognizing many countries, like Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavonia, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, which the World War brought into being; and without analyzing 158,000 persons of mixed parentage, and 58,000 unclassified individuals, credits New England as sheltering the people of more than 30 nations.

Of these the most important non-English speaking factors are 620,000 French-Canadians, 494,000 Italians, 470,000 Russians, 194,000 Austrians, 162,000 Germans, 138,000 Swedes, 45,000 Turks, 43,000 Greeks, 41,000 Hungarians, and 35,000 Finns.

PART II

THE MAKING OF THE YANKEE

New England—A Training Ground

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL NEW ENGLAND

IT would doubtless serve a purpose if I confined myself to a statement of facts, like those already given, which graphically illustrate the manner in which the Yankee has been thrust aside in New England.

Meantime it is a matter of deep political concern that Americans should understand the causes that have recently operated to eliminate the influence and precedence of a stock which has helped greatly in framing their institutions.

I desire, therefore, prior to marking the sharp contrasts which the last fifty years have brought about in the customs and character of the people of New England, to suggest explanatory reasons. To do this satisfactorily it will be necessary to review the physical environment of the little community of states which is under discussion, study the character and accomplishments of the pioneers who first colonized and gave it fame, and then mark the forces from within and without that shaped its destiny.

It is not improbable that such a study will bring a pang to the heart of many a one who belongs to the older American stock.

It is not improbable that it will alarm the newer citizen who now occupies the homes and controls the political future of the men who made liberty respectable.

I hope it may do both. The sense of having forfeited his native birthright may urge the Yankee to fight for the spiritual concepts of his fathers, and in the interest of his progeny. The contemplation of error, now historic, may warn the recent alien, who is benefitting by the toil of those he has displaced, to avoid the mistakes of the great people who preceded him.

If it follows that a resurgence of common sense in that part of America which lies east of the Hudson River leads to the buttressing of the ideas which are behind representative Democracy, the world must benefit.

For a description of physical New England one may go to the geographers or the historians who have elaborately mapped this region for the purpose of their narrative. For the better understanding of the soul of the country let us venture to think of it as the composite New Englander thinks of it and loves it.

To the North, and almost in the hearing of the rapids of the St. Lawrence River rise the white peaks that cluster about Mt. Washington. To

the West and East of these White Mountains there are other highlands; grim but beautiful Katahdin as lovely and mystical in the sunset as is the Taj Mahal; and the great green ranges that look across Lake Champlain to the dark country of the Adirondacks. Sloping gradually southward toward sea and sound from these lions of the border, are other hills, homely enough perhaps if they had been left to themselves, but so garlanded by lakes of all sizes and description as to lose the sense of separateness and become landscape features of excellent beauty. These continue in platoon, rank and file from the passes and deep forests of the interior for two-thirds of the distance to the coast, and flank a hundred brooks and torrents which storm their way to the broad rivers of the low country.

Neither the great nor the small mountains can compare with the Alps for grandeur, or with the Scotch hills for romance; but it is to be doubted if the tourist can anywhere find so much first-class mountain scenery in so limited an area joined with so much fertility of soil, such astounding water power, and such an intimate human call.

They were rugged white men who first pushed into New England, but if we can believe their testimony, the mountains of their new home added to their strength without robbing them of their gentleness.

From the mountains to the sea, and along the river valleys there are stretches of arable land, widening and narrowing as the circumstances may be, but nowhere of any great extent. Just as meadows and pastures (the fertile wash from disintegrating granite) soften the rigors of the mountainous district, so do great outcroppings of ancient rock and vast glacier deposits strengthen the character of the lowlands. Fringing these are sandy beaches, cliff embattled headlands, and endless marshes—all cut by tidal rivers. In the East there are myriad islands and a deeply indented coast line; in the South far-reaching bays and the protected waters of Long Island Sound. Here in an environment that is winning and beautiful, humanity has not failed to find a rich reward for industry.

One does not have to know much of topography to appreciate the manner in which New England has affected the life which it has nourished and protected. Man dominates nature, but nature while yielding, modifies man's lordship and directs his energies to an extent that few economists appreciate. The first impression that New England made upon Europeans was gracious. Better acquaintance brought disillusion to those who anticipated large returns for little effort. New England is not prodigal to the shiftless. It can be well compared to a brilliant woman who fascinates but eludes. Further acquaintance taught

the pioneer that he must endure hardship and overcome difficulty before New England would grant him a home. He accepted the challenge, and marvelled at the abundant reward.

The Aborigines had not dreamed of the treasure that lay within call of men who were brave enough to face apparent adversity in this district. The Indians were fickle and impatient of labor. To them the broad intervals of the Mohawk and Susquehanna were infinitely more attractive. The mountains repelled them, and the plains were too meagre. Nothing but ferocious wars, which pushed weaker tribes out of territory that was coveted by the conqueror, led remnants of the Algonquins to occupy a country which was inhospitable to their theory of life. It is not surprising that these latter sickened and died, although they yielded to the insistence of nature and pitched their wigwams in sheltered parts and river valleys which have subsequently controlled the movements of far hardier peoples. New England is impatient of too much subserviency, and withheld from the Indian the bounty which she has bestowed upon those who have met her buffets with resistance of a compelling nature.

Others have dealt at length, as I shall deal briefly, with the manner in which those heroic figures, Puritan, Pilgrim, and adventurer, followed, as men will hereafter follow, the savage in selecting the South and East of the country for

early habitation and the advancement of their industries. It will later be for us to mark how the recent immigrant in his turn is making the same approach, treading upon the heels of the Yankee.

For the present I prefer to dwell upon the fact that physical New England, in spite of the mountain freshet and the onrush of Atlantic tides, perhaps because of these, is a country with a capacity for developing strong men whom she wooes and beckons to achievement. Fascinating is the study of her processes which not only return a rich harvest for toil, but fit the laborer for increased effort, and again, for larger reaping. The Puritan, grounded as he was in the Mosaic Law, found the God of the Commandments immanent in his wilderness home. If he had been less religious, he would probably have reached the same conclusions. In his day as in ours New England gave short shrift to those who despise her law, but piled her blessings upon the loyal. In his day as in ours New England outdistanced imagination in the spiritual uplift she has bestowed upon those who do her will. One does not need a written revelation in New England to secure a conception of the Almighty. Men and women who persist in the extraordinary environment thus offered, sense as a conscious entity the God of the Hebrew poets and prophets.

The student who does not grip this, who has no

knowledge of the truths which, here briefly stated, are abundantly set out in the letters and public papers of recent generations, will never understand the drama that is now being enacted in this land of brilliant contrast. I am inclined, therefore, to ask those who are to look with me into and seek to explain the troublesome facts, which show the passing of the Yankee stock, to visualize New England as the chosen habitat of the Divinity who may be using it as a school for mortals. If we had not passed the semi-barbarian period, we might think of a great spirit as concealed in the mighty uplift of the endless hills and mountains of New England.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROGENITOR OF THE YANKEE

THE ultimate tragedy in human affairs is caused by the lack of a sense of proportions. The Greek drama dared greatly, but did not attempt a theme which daunts the spirit of the poet and artist.

Plato, in his *Republic*, discoursed of the golden mean, and Jesus Christ, by word and example, pointed the way thereto, but society as a whole will none of it, and writhes in self-imposed torment. Whether this is because humanity prefers to do the things it senses to be wrong and to take the inevitable spanking, or is too sophisticated to attempt perfection because it is unattainable, is any one's guess.

Whatever the truth may be as to this, the thinker must note with satisfaction that if human majorities are irresponsible or cynical, human minorities, miserable minorities in most instances, have tried by the exercise of restraint to square with the teaching of seer and prophet; to experience the *auream mediocritatem* of Horace. To

these it has seemed better to approximate perfection—to steer one's course by the needle of conscience and reason—than to drift. Therefore, stumbling, tumbling, if you please, but still aspiring (thank God for aspiration), the elect among men have carried on amid the raucous laughter of their contemporaries.

Among such groups history records none more notable than certain of the reform sects and certain of the Catholic zealots whose story dignifies the history of American colonization.

Notwithstanding the sneers of the modern cynic, the Jesuit and Récollet friars of the seventeenth century are great figures; as are the Puritan and the Pilgrim who pioneered the opening of New England. Particularists or individualists, these latter with whom we shall now have to do, may have been, but heroes they were, and no digging over of irrelevant facts by twentieth century enthusiasts will change the status of men whose acts made them conspicuous in their day. It may be true that each generation can advantageously use its own vocabulary and its peculiar fashions in order to get new light upon impressive personalities of the past; but the race does not wait for publicists like James Truslow Adams, to get its lasting impressions. It gives due value to the testimony of contemporaries. It marks the depth of the imprint made by such characters upon their own and the succeeding generation,

and assigns them to their niche in the story of humanity. Thus Roger Williams and William Bradford were estimated and catalogued by mankind before the period of the Revolutionary War; just as Washington and Franklin, and perhaps Lincoln, were appraised and catalogued before the breaking out of the World War.

If we refer to these recorded appraisals and make due comparisons, we shall find humanity at its peak in the leading personalities who colonized New England. "Adversity quickeneth a man," says Bacon, and these people and their forebears had been tested by the hot fires of persecution which left a residue of rough gold.

Here were hardy and fearless intellects unwarped by self-indulgence, and spirits which dared greatly, not only in their adventurous crossing of the Atlantic and challenge to a grim wilderness, but in their defiance of Satanic powers which to them were real and terrifying.

Conceive of these devotees as visualizing God, and confident that His Will was sustaining them, and that His Power was their Power, and you have compelling figures competent to overcome material obstacles. Such was the robust stock that set itself to win the favor of the rugged but beneficent New England that has been pictured in the last chapter. The compass of this study does not permit space to do more than to outline their personalities. The sincerity that suffers

for its conviction was represented in their leadership by a scholarship that had been an ornament to the greatest European Universities, and in their rank and file by the best of a yeomanry that gave Oliver his invincible Ironsides. Their fellowship in England had been with Sir John Eliot, Pym, Cromwell and Milton. They included in their numbers the founder of modern democracy, and the framer of representative government, both sagacious administrators. It is true that their laws, and many of their institutions, appear to us repellent from their severity and apparent inconsistency. It has been suggested that our prejudice arises because we lack their viewpoint.

They chastened the flesh until revulsion followed. The purpose was honest. They legislated for a hierarchy. The object was to prevent a cataclysm. *As a matter of fact, however mistaken we may think them, they approached Plato's golden mean more nearly than any other group of men who have founded political institutions.*

I do not propose to argue this, although the subject is not without fascination. Let the citizen of this socialized state, whose lack of principle has sacrificed representative Democracy, criticise the Puritan for over-rigidity. It is for us to summarize his fitness for pioneering—for the fast-holding of that which he attained. The subduing of a new country so that it may serve the race requires that physical toughness of fibre

which is only secured by the mastery of the spirit. It calls for courage, patience, intelligence, constructive ability, and a common sense that coöperates while it refuses to be shackled.

All these qualities strung on the gold thread of experience were possessed by the founders of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Necessity and adventure, which even provide romance for the sybarite, travelled hand in hand with them, and piqued their imagination. They were poets and dreamers before their prows grounded on the shores of their new possession. It is quite certain that some of them had circled the globe with Francis Drake, or sailed the Spanish Main with England's sea captains. They had either participated in the Flemish Wars, or heard from eye witnesses of the manner in which a liberty-loving people had enfranchised themselves. They were stanch when rigorous endeavor had rewarded their effort. Steadfastness is the prime requirement of men and women who occupy new countries!

I cannot forbear giving examples of their fortitude. The determined spirit with which the Pilgrims met the disappointments attending their embarkation at Plymouth, England, is known to every school child. Off on the *Speedwell* they experienced a mishap which the timid among them must have apprehended. Think of the discouragement of turning back, and the pull

that the shore must have had on those who trans-shipped to a yet smaller craft, the *Mayflower*.

There are plenty of instances which even better illustrate the inflexible quality of these pious adventurers. From these I select that of Parson Richard Mather whose naïve relation of what some would call his unhappy experiences, after boarding ship for New England, reflects an admirable steadiness of purpose:—

> True it is, our journey was somewhat long. For though from Mon. the 22nd of June when we lost sight of our old Eng. coast until the 8th of Aug. when we made land again—was but 6 weeks and 5 days. Yet from our first entering the ship—the 23rd of May, til our landing at Boston in New England—the 17th of Aug. it was twelve weeks and two days.

It is this disposition to carry on, to come back after rebuff, and to hold every achievement with a strangle grip that explains their ultimate success as pioneers and planters.

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION OF THE YANKEE

I HAVE in turn visualized the tough and resisting qualities of physical New England, and the sturdy men and women who set themselves to the winning of it. The Norsemen had tried their hand at the task and failed. The Adventurers as such had been no more successful. The Pilgrim and the Puritan made a trial of the job, and succeeded. One cannot estimate nor understand the pioneers of this same New England without giving weight to this fact, and first marking the reactions which followed the joinder of battle between mind and matter—each at their best. The sword has shape and quality before it is tempered by fire. It needs a baptismal experience before it cuts.

Let us investigate the character of this hardening experience. People who read know of the physical discomforts which the Pilgrim encountered in his first winter at Plymouth, and which later accompanied the beginnings of Puritan immigration. Few I think realize the super terrors

that assailed colonists of approved piety, held as in the jaws of a vice between an endless forest and a hungry sea. Demons became incarnate in the shadows of the great pines. Witches and kobolds roared their fury with the tumbling breakers.

"We were minded," said Bradford (it was a cant phrase in those days), "to burn up our houses and to run away by the light thereof because the hell hounds were after us."

What was true of the Pilgrim was equally true of his serious-minded compatriot. "There is barking on the cape to the North," says a later narrator, "like the barking of lions or devils."

Think of it! Ears nervously acute learned to distinguish the bark of a devil from other sounds of the high timber.

You can never visualize Europeans of the early seventeenth century if your imagination fails to cram their environment with the terrors of Diabolism. You are ill-informed and wretchedly prejudiced if you do not appreciate the manner in which this fear was emphasized in the solitary places of the New World. We thrill when a dramatic artist presents his figures before a black background which is astir with ominous and impossible shapes. But we shut our eyes to the supposedly real horrors that encircled the alarmed magistrates of Salem when they took to witch-hunting. It is impossible to get a view of the stanchness of New England characters unless we

view them as battling, in a land yet unexorcised by Church, with the armies of a visible devil.

Here is a will to win at the start—a will to win that put to shame their vigorous European predecessors.

Now take the narrative of the settlers' early history, as it appears in the letters and diaries of those who participated. It shows a people physically fit, (only the fit survived the grilling of the early months on an inhospitable coast), schooled and shaped by necessity. Let us divide them into adults and youths. Among the adults, those well born, who in their English homes received and expected service from their inferiors in birth and station, took to the axe and plough, if they were not burdened by the duties of the magistracy. The yeomen sturdily adapted their knowledge of English husbandry to meet the extraordinary conditions of the wilderness. Here were no fat glebes. Here were no rich meadows farmed from the days of Norman William. The open land of the salt marsh and swamp was unworkable muck. Acres whose surface was hurriedly cleared of the forest trees, were tightly bound by interweaving roots. The ambitious agriculturist of modern days who attempts to salvage a sometime bit of arable land upon which wild growth has infringed, stands aghast at the difficulties which confront him. Little roots entangle the ploughshare and break the clod. Big roots thwart

the splendid power of horse or oxen, and even puzzle the tractor. Imagine the problem the stolid English farmer of the early colonial period solved, to his everlasting credit, in days when the root tangle underground was coextensive with the endless shade of the forest.

Those in authority, always men of maturity and some distinction, from the Governor and his assistants to commissioners and counsellors, were forced by the exigencies of administrative duty to the same tireless bodily activity required of field hand and hunter. Officials had to go where they were wanted, although distances were enormous, and paths imperfect and dangerous. It was long before they learned to adjust themselves to conditions prescribed by the contour of the terrains. Trails are the result of experience. The newcomers had neither experience nor sufficient woodcraft in the beginning to take advantage of what the savage had worked out for them. Meantime circumstances compelled visits to outlying settlements, conferences at places wide apart, and not infrequent voyages by land and sea in the interest of the colonies.

Thus the learned magistrate, as well as the yeoman, wrestled with natural obstacles and grew vigorous and hardy in physical exercises. What is true of them is true of the ministry and the women. Historians have told us of the long and dangerous journeys taken by Bradford and Win-

throp, and by their successors in high places; and every one is familiar with the story of the founder of Rhode Island. But the accounts are meagre that reflect the unending toil of clergymen who are so frequently caricaturized, and the unceasing labors of the women.

A single instance well illustrates the manner in which the religious teachers, a chosen group, all scholarly and some of gentle blood, participated in the severe training received by every unit in the community. It will be remembered that Charles Chauncey was the second President of Harvard College. He had held the chair of Greek and Hebrew in Cambridge University, England, and was the master of an elegant and forceful Latin style. Mather asserts that he arose at four o'clock in the morning, summer and *winter*, and gives us a look-in upon some of his less arduous duties. These included hours set apart each day for prayer and the conduct of two Chapel services, at which he expounded a chapter of the Bible that had first been read in the original Greek or Hebrew. Such activities were incidental—for always there was not only the administrative work of the beginnings of an infant college, and the preparation of learned sermons, but the labors of a farmer to be performed. Such manual work was required because of the niggardliness of the General Court. Nothing better reflects the meagre resources of the community

than its inability to provide for the imminent needs of this scholar who was generally admired. His petitions to the authorities indicate a condition of neediness which must have taxed the resolute spirit of one who had to provide sustenance for a family of ten. Not only was his moderate salary of one hundred pounds paid in corn, which was not a ready medium for exchange—but "he had not land enough to keep so much as one cow or horse, or a habitation to be dry and warm." These naïve admissions have color. In a fuller or lesser degree they picture the experiences of the sturdy men who led their congregations into the endless forests of their marvellous adventure, and ministered to their religious needs.

If the labor of the student at his desk, and the toil of the husbandman out of doors be translated into those forms of service which are the glory of the gentler sex, they will reveal the everlasting toil of the pioneer women who also had their ministry of devotion, that has never been excelled, in meeting the challenge of unconscionable perils.

Such were the adults! Now for the youth that had crossed the deep in the glorious insouciance of children, and the youth born of pioneer mothers. The one found romance beckoning across dangerous seas to hitherto uninhabited shores. The other was heir to the abundant treasure hid-

den in unspoiled reaches of virgin forests. Together, they swung the axes and wrestled with the ploughshares that tapped the resources of a rich country. Together, they learned the mysteries of the wilderness, threaded rivers and streams, tested their wits against those of the nomad, and opened communications between infant settlements. The result was bone and brawn for the boy, and health and vigor for the girl. Born of godly people they avoided the errors of a less favored progeny. Strong in back and limb they dared trails away from the earlier hamlet, and pushed into the great silences. At first, there was much to learn from Indian comrades. With years and experience, such information helped to an understanding of nature in all her moods. Then came a rapid advance in woodcraft. Muscles developed by labor and necessary out-of-door activities hardened in long scouting expeditions, and before the first generation had passed away, a masterful New England-bred stock had been evolved that was as robust as it was far-visioned.

This brings us to King Philip's War, after which time there is no need for discussing reactions of the new land upon the English colonists and their American-born children. We have to do now with the New Englanders who live on coarse but healthful and abundant fare, and who have learned the knack of subduing the wilderness. They are well set up, far-visioned people who are still at school.

The days have gone in which their infrequent contacts with the Dutch and French or the hostile Indians came only through their traders, or punitive expeditions under valorous captains. They are now to know the bitterness of systematic warfare, first with the alarmed Indians, and then with the most militant of European nations. Nature, half conquered, but still resistant, is to have as allies the Red people who thoroughly understand her savage whims, and the white race whose soldiers and *coureurs du bois* are best acquainted with her aspects. This entente finds a change of scene and ushers in a change of circumstances.

Although reinforcements from the home country, land hunger, and differing convictions caused the English at an early date to push their villages into the nearby forests and to advantageous points along the coast, they had until recently clung together in acknowledgment of a certain brotherhood. Nature was still austere, and each cluster of homes felt the need of such spiritual sympathy and practical aid as the neighboring hamlets could give. Time and a better acquaintance with the country and its moods now brought fearlessness and confidence. The movement to the Connecticut and the long trek through the woods to Springfield had been sufficiently successful to encourage enterprise. "Why not adventure further?" was the query of bold spirits, and no

objection being registered, the colonies had commenced to extend their frontiers into the wilderness until at the time when Metacomet felt that action could not be deferred, they were far afield.

Would you visualize them under new conditions? Their homes can be marked by the smoke arising above the forests of the Connecticut Valley in the neighborhood of Northampton, by the clearings along the Makamacheckamuck Hills that thirty or forty miles west of Boston overlook the Nashua Valley, and by grazing cattle in the marshes of the Piscataqua. The settlers of Hadley and Hatfield on the Connecticut had reached their present homes by the way of Windsor and Hartford. The men and women of Groton, Lancaster and the outlying cabins which straggled north and west, had already done pioneer work in Waltham, Concord and other villages of Middlesex County. The settlers at Exeter and Dover had participated in strange adventures along the coast before reconciling themselves to the meadow lands beyond Portsmouth.

In one way or another, each of these frontier groups, and all other collections resembling them, had been trained for a larger and more dreadful experience than they had yet known, just as boys are made ready for college in boarding school. King Philip's War completed this experience, and those who survived it were worthy of a bachelor's degree for hardihood, sagacity and courage. It

is needless here to again repeat the story of that awful disaster. The pencilled jottings of those who played an important part are still preserved for students in the archives of historical societies and libraries, and historians have given it full space. It is enough for us to review the figures which appear to be veracious. These record that one-half of the eighty or ninety towns then in New England were ravaged by fire, and that one out of every ten fighting men were killed or captured. When it was over, the Valley of the Connecticut, the hills overlooking the Nashua River, and the hinterland behind Portsmouth to which reference has been made, were scenes of desolation reflecting conditions that existed not only along the frontier but in large areas near the heart of the colonized district. Terror had ridden roughshod through New England wearing an aspect so horrific as to make the picture unerasable not only in the memory of the pioneers but in the subconsciousness of unborn generations. The New England wilderness had provided an awful setting for the drama, and as a direct consequence it took on a gloomy and sinister aspect which is difficult to describe.

Perhaps that is why boys recently born of New England stock feel a strange thrill when their outings for play or exercise lead them into the patches of nearby woods. Far back when the rough country they are now familiar with was shadowed

by the virgin forests, each towering tree was looked upon by their forebears as a possible hiding place for a savage. The ravines and intervales which to the child's imagination provide excellent places for ambuscades, were more than ominous to the pioneer who cautiously felt his way between the slopes which then bore a different aspect. Two hundred years ago, the gorge was shadowed with a rough but sturdy growth which perfectly hid a concealed enemy. From the intervales, whose grasses now are studded with red cattle, there rose great pine trees with branches which were lifted one hundred and fifty feet above the earth.

Human beings are impressed with awe as they thread the columns of a cathedral nave. Think of the sensation of the early settler upon entering a wooded valley whose vistas of tall trunks were illimitable. Put yourself in his place—visualize the forest—and in imagination people these gloomy aisles with warriors fantastically painted. If you are at all successful, you will understand why the centuries have been unable to rub out the impression then made upon the soul of a hardy race.

The mental pictures thus outlined are not suggested without a purpose. In no other way perhaps can we fully understand the rigor with which the savage wilderness and its savage occupants handled the white-visaged strangers who were to vanquish them.

One of two results were bound to follow—the crushing of the intruder, or the creation of an aggressive and dominant spirit. As early as 1725, it was brought home to Europeans or those who kept in touch with colonial affairs, that instead of being prostrated by their conflict with nature, the New England colonies had won out. Instead of remaining in the lower river valleys and on hill slopes which are not too far inland to be wet with the ocean's fogs, groups of settlers, who had substituted for a time the rifle for the spade, and had become experienced woodsmen, were penetrating to the base of the Green Mountains and the white hills of New Hampshire.

The advance was cautious enough at first, and terribly expensive. In the country between Lancaster and Groton, it took fifty years from the date when those towns were burned by Philip's followers before the intrepid vanguard of a new western movement had again established itself in the chestnut everglades that crown the beauty of that territory. In the interim many a hunter and home-builder who ventured far beyond the confines of the thickly settled region to the East had paid the penalty with his life. Scouting parties of rangers could and did explore untenanted districts, and returned with glowing tales of opportunities awaiting those who were unafraid; but the man who raised a cabin was sure to have it burned above his head.

The fact that now concerns us is that here as elsewhere the still highly religious and determined New Englanders insisted upon following hard upon the beckonings of their fertile imagination. This, as we have seen, by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century found them not only distributed through the entire section which we now know as Connecticut and Rhode Island but in Stockbridge beyond the Berkshires, as far north as Pokanet or Concord, New Hampshire, and along the river valleys of Maine.[1]

Here they garrisoned and prepared to meet the third stage in their development—that which was provided by the French and Indian Wars.

I shall not go into the details of this period which brought a growing and logical individualism into the high light, with any particularity. The reader is familiar with the outstanding English expeditions, so frequently mishandled, against the French in Canada and their red allies everywhere. There was much bad generalship, bickerings between regular soldiers and colonial auxiliaries, parsimony and lack of coördination, but no historian up to the present time seems to understand just where the principal troubles lay. If I should venture a guess after the Yankee fashion, I should say that there was little national consciousness on the part of the colonies, and no

[1] They were still obliged to man blockhouses in central and northern Massachusetts.

leadership in the mother country until Pitt—the great Pitt—appeared and thrilled the British at home and abroad with his indomitable spirit. Then matters came to a climax.

The so-called faults of the Americans were eminently those of the New England colonies. Pride that was restive under English captains, subordination of national to community affairs, and a sense of personal interest that was suspicious of control. Massachusetts and Connecticut spent much money and sent many thousands of recruits from their borders. Rhode Island and New Hampshire made valuable contributions, but it was perfectly obvious until the day when Quebec fell that the chief concern of New Englanders was for their own homes and the village communities in which these homes clustered.

I confess that to me these Colonial notions do not seem unreasonable. By this time, the coast towns were accumulating wealth from a trade with the French Islands, which was more or less frustrated by Parliamentary enactments. They hated a French national, especially when they glimpsed his uniform at the head of a horde of savages. But they were shrewdly inclined to permit the empire, to which they were not too subordinate, to take care of French forays and installations that did not threaten New England. They might contribute troops for demonstrations outside of their borders to block the possibility

of French supremacy across the Hudson, but they believed, with all the egoism of the so-called Anglo-Saxon, that Great Britain could and would maintain her own fences. This explains much of the bickering between the British Ministry and the New England colonies. The people of the latter did not wish to go afield. Conditions on their frontier kept too many of their forest trained rangers busy in making the round from garrison to garrison. The farmers dared not leave their wives and children at home unguarded.

There is a disposition on the part of a certain school of historians to refer to this spirit of self-interest as provincialism; the term is used contemptuously. I think there is no occasion for unpleasant innuendo. New England during the French Wars was within the fighting territory, and its inhabitants, women as well as men, showed excellent sense in safeguarding home interests. The colonist had disentangled himself from the strangling coil of Church and State across seas, and had found in isolated settlements his heart's desire—Freedom. His whole life was an epitome of daring, pressing hard on imagination. His action in refusing broad enterprise cannot be charged to cowardice or narrowness, since it is fully explained by a simple line of reasoning. Constant wrestling with peril had produced a canny shrewdness that was quite competent

to decide whether his interests would be better served in an expedition to Oswego or up Lake Champlain, than by garrison duty at home or in patrol service, which he and his neighbors maintained in cheerful reciprocity. Parkman and other students have pointed out the manner in which the pioneers of New England stock had consolidated their achievements after each advance, so that by this time the New England colonies were reasonably compact as compared to the French. The town dwellers of that day were perfectly informed of the fact, and were satisfied that their solidarity and numbers would discourage any serious inroad from the French in America. The restless and ambitious spirits of the frontier, after a half century of experience, had learned to adapt themselves to a broader policy which, requiring the maintenance of innumerable blockhouses, and the upkeep of a vigilant patrol, held them always prepared to fall back upon the centers of population. Thus port merchants and frontiersmen were of one mind. If the Ministry continued to dispatch regular troops from Great Britain to act as a corrective to Louis' exported grenadiers, the colonies could take care of themselves and perhaps help in the reduction of such strongholds as threatened English supremacy in America.

That is what I read between the lines of extant records which reflect the view of the colonists.

Imperial Governors like the active Shirley, whose acts and special communications have hitherto absorbed the attention of the historian, planned along imperial lines. The colonial as an Englishman endorsed these plans where they did not run counter to his personal concerns.

Here, as we have already noticed, is enlightened self-interest! The founders of New England brought with them integrity of soul. They were of sturdy frame and possessed fine intellectual qualities. Experience and necessity led them by devious ways to enunciate the principles and set up the machinery for the safeguarding of freedom. The survivors of King Philip's War developed imagination, daring and self-reliance. The colonist of the earlier French and Indian Wars, frustrated in his sea trade, and balked in his endeavor to settle upon and improve the legislative grants issued as a reward for military service, evolved a canny shrewdness which he himself characterized as horse sense.

There is a temptation at this juncture to dwell upon the trials of specific groups of New England adventurers in these strenuous mid-eighteenth century times. Space will not admit more than a look in. There were problems attached to the enterprise of turning into gold merchantable timber along the coast; problems for seafaring men who spent their lives between the growing ports and the pirate-infested waters of the Spanish

Main; and problems for the shipmasters who, with good conscience, evaded the oppressive British trade regulations. This group organized a sea-going New England which later manned the vessels of John Paul Jones and others of his ilk. There you have New England facing the East. Serious knots to be unsnarled, but looked upon as not untieable!

I am not sure that New England of that day, still concentrated near the coast, felt quite the same as she faced the problem to landward. Here her outposts were not unlike those that the French maintained in the far-away forests. The various punitive expeditions that had chastened the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Indians and made it possible for landseekers to survey and stake out claims in the Connecticut Valley and along the foothills of the Green and White Mountains, had only performed a temporary service. Fort Massachusetts in the northwestern corner of the Old Bay Colony was destroyed almost as soon as erected, and most of the settlements from the headwaters of the Blackstone River to Stockbridge on the west and Hanover on the north were in enemy country. Master problems these!

The above recitation may serve as a glimpse into the difficulties of the time and the wit-developing reactions therefrom.

It was while the New England colonies were in this perturbed state of mind that they absorbed

seriatim news of Braddock's defeat in the far southwest, of the massacres of Bloody Pond and Fort William Henry, and of the calamity which overwhelmed Abercrombie. While the first repulse did not directly affect them, it brought dismal forebodings that were realized in the later horrors. Colonel Williams, who, whatever his capacity as a soldier, had won confidence by excellent service in the threatened territory of Vermont and New Hampshire, and numerous other officers and men who were the pick of Massachusetts and Connecticut manhood, had perished in the later conflicts. Pressing close upon these tragic events came the defeat of the sea expedition in which the Coast settlements had participated. For a little there was dismay and distraction, followed by a rallying of resources. Then individualism, sneered at by some, crystallized into a thing that was potent and irresistible; a functioning solidarity that was not to be ridiculed. Yankee shrewdness comprehended that an incompetent royal government might fail to perform the task which it had undertaken. Indians were once more swarming in the woods about, and scouts were bringing dire tales of wreck and ruin. Again there was a withdrawal from threatened sections—some of them occupied for a hundred years. It was obvious now that "self-interest" demanded action, and the colonies acted. Money and supplies heretofore withheld were swiftly

granted. Putnam, Rogers and other leaders, whose talents heretofore had been confined to observation and defensive border warfare, were placed at the head of large detachments. Frontiersmen hurried their families from the threatened terrain. Colonials joined Wolfe at Quebec, or marched with Jeffrey Amherst to Montreal. The colonies as in a flash revealed the latent power which had been coalescing. An extraordinary exhibition of capacity to compel events followed which in no way dims the glory of the great English statesman who discovered Wolfe and organized victory. Hard-pushed individualism demonstrated its ability to concentrate and execute designs that were the result of joint counsel, and New England found itself as the political entity that was soon to be manifested.

There follows an opening up of the wilderness. With the Mohawk back beyond the Hudson, deserted villages are again occupied. Holders of patents and grants still deep in the forest send surveying groups to mark their claims, and are swift to take advantage of a growing disposition of the younger element in the towns to carve out homes for themselves. Sailing vessels carrying the news of changed conditions to Europe, return with sturdy immigrants of the same blood and with sound principles, and spread encouraging news of endless opportunity no longer shadowed by the torch and scalping knife.

As if by miraculous impulse the trails toward the mountains lengthen and broaden. Foot-paths become saddle-paths. Horned stock is driven hither and thither into districts hitherto almost unknown. Every faculty that has been quickened by struggle with nature, by enduring, by peril, and by embarrassed complications, now has full play.

At the time of Montcalm's overthrow, 1759, the life of New England still centered, as we have seen, in a few lusty towns and many provincial villages in Connecticut, Rhode Island, that part of Massachusetts which lies east of Worcester County, or is within the Valley of the Connecticut, and the coast settlements of New Hampshire and of the Maine dependency.

In 1775, it had risen to flood and except for morasses and mountains with a few intervales in the distant ranges of rock and gravel, was in general occupation of the field which it now shares with the nations.

The succeeding half century is the golden age of New England. The close of the Revolution saw the population of its rural communities at their height, nature under subjection, and the Yankee unshackled. For much more than a century from the planting of their first colonies a new people, sensing the Divinity in a vital manner, had accepted what they believed to be his guidance and his judgment. In return the mysterious Power

which is behind all progress had accepted them as a chosen agent, and through a fight with physical and spiritual forces, schooled them in such a way as to bring out their virtues, and lead them to the high peaks of opportunity.

Before them was the promised land. I use analogies familiar even in 1776 when the broadening process of their training had led them to throw off much in the vernacular of their fathers that we are inclined to look upon as cant. They had enjoyed virtual freedom, although in recent years Boards of Trade, imperial policies, and shortsighted commissions had proved irksome. Keenly alive to the fact that as a people they must have actual liberty, they became vocal and dynamic. Animating colonies which had less vision, and getting into soul coalition with colonies that had reached the same conclusions in other ways, they came into their Canaan by declarations which reflected principles long familiar to them. The war that followed was but an episode. Circumstances—why not say Providence (scholars squabble over words when they wish to express the same idea)—favored them, and they became an important part in a new nation.

The Revolution taxed their resources, and challenging their individualism, uncovered some of its weaknesses. But it is not the war that marks their climacteric. It is the declarations that exposed their soul and solidarity in high purpose.

Thomas Jefferson, with the potent assistance of the two Adamses and Benjamin Franklin, prepared the Declaration of Independence, but hundreds of Declarations in New England preceded the birth of that notable instrument. Buried in the records of widely separated towns, except as they appear in local histories that are rarely read, they show a perception as to the cardinal rights of man and the limitations of government that is extraordinary.

PART III

EXPANSION AND DETERIORATION

From Homogeneity to Heterogeneity

CHAPTER VI

EXPANSION

WATER that fills a bowl to the brim generally slops over. If it does not, some one jostles the dish, or breaks it altogether. Somewhere between the earliest settlement and the hour when the people of New England responded to the call for the preservation of the Union, the crania of the composite Yankee was brimmed with wisdom.

If the shrewdest critic of us all were not uncertain as to the meaning and value of human experience, he might tell us exactly when this event occurred. Should I register a Yankee guess, I would say somewhere in the generation following the Revolution, and only after the aforesaid composite figure had suffered serious setbacks. However this may be, Yankee astuteness no sooner reached the brim than it slopped over and was dissipated.

We are all familiar in these days with the use of graphs or diagrams to illustrate the rise and fall in the prices of commodities, weather conditions,

or stocks and bonds. You can diagram the progress of this particular people (or of any people), toward perfect wisdom, as well as the sloughing away therefrom, by a line traced on a prepared chart. It will look like the outline of a mountain chain that culminates in a lofty summit. The peaks represent achievements, and the valleys indicate stereotyped human shortcomings.

Meantime it is not difficult to visualize this line of community life without the help of paper and pencil. Let the first rise mark the pious effort of the Puritan and Pilgrim to square with the requirements of a high religious purpose. Let the falling away from the attained level represent the slipping back—when rigor crucified an appreciation of the joy of life. There is your first mountain!

Overtopping this eminence is the peak of achieved liberty, reached when the pioneers, pressing into the forest, secured practical autonomy for each of their wilderness settlements; and just beyond, the deep valley of error into which they dropped when freedom inclined them to throw off religious restraint.

Highest of all is the peak of shrewd balanced common sense, attained after the grilling of the French and Indian Wars, the nagging persecution of inconstant British ministries, and the joyful experience of the sort of nationality which conserves Freedom and honors God. Here they

are at the top of the range, at the crest of a moral continental Divide! If they could have breathed the rarified air, they would have been assured of abundant blessings for themselves and their posterity—an overlook which would have continued to challenge their imagination, and a strategic position which would have been of advantage, if they desired to serve the Nation.

History records that, like all other peoples who have before them trodden the path of achievement, they could not do this. With their commercial fleets on every sea, their homeland richly productive, and their leaders exercising a dominating influence in the new National Government, that never could have been created without their counsel and courage, they brimmed the bowl of balanced well-being, and slopped over! They found Plato's golden mean and slipped beyond the point of balance. They felt the joy that comes when power is held in check by moderation, and were not content to order their lines in such a manner as to conserve it.

I should like at this juncture to discuss the sagacity of the generations that fought the Revolution, and established the Federal Union, in order to illustrate the finiteness of humanity at its best, and suggest the occasion there is for every political entity that believes that it has secured a strong footing, to take heed lest it fall. To do this would, however, interrupt the continuity of

my narrative. I am therefore leaving such matter for a brief analysis in a later chapter. The upstanding fact for us to now carry in mind is that the New England of the early nineteenth century was fairly bursting with repressed vigor, capacity for constructive upbuilding, and vital power.

This was to find immediate outlet in two directions—first, *in the occupation of new fields of activity in the West,* and—second, *through intensive developments.*

Curiously enough the effort directed toward each end supplemented the other in hastening the close of Anglo-Saxon domination in New England. One—by withdrawing from all of the six States with which we are concerned, the most adventurous of the homogeneous population. The other—by bringing foreign labor of all sorts and conditions into the devoted section which had been won by sacrifice.

I have already called attention to the fact that the country districts of New England were more densely populated in 1790 than they have been since. Here is a case where figures do not lie. Stark and suggestive the returns for village and town for each decade from 1780 to 1920, stand out in the census books. For a generation these have been verified by the advertisements of state commissions and real estate people endeavoring to find occupants for deserted farms. One who

distrusts such evidence may investigate for himself. In Northern New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine, he will find nothing but heavy forest growth in many a valley that had been penetrated and cleared with the hardest sort of hand labor. In Connecticut and Massachusetts within a few miles of the seashore he will come upon mile after mile of wall and rotted fencing that serve as boundaries between what were once farms, but which are now clumps of thicket and tangle. Frequently these desolations are close to great cities. An hour's ride from New York stone walls which might have been built by the Titans traverse a region of endless sprout growth. One wonders what the reactions are upon the alien labor employed in nearby factories. These mighty piles of rocks were not reared by men who restricted manual toil to eight hours a day. What are the reflections of the foreigner who learns that his predecessors in these parts worked manually from sunrise to sunset? Does he think of them with wonder or with contempt? If we knew his conclusions, we should know something as to the future of New England.

I have in mind several such districts within thirty miles of Boston. None but those who are fond of the open and used to cross-country tramping, care to penetrate the thickets that hide the mould of rail fences and block ancient thoroughfares. To the North of the city and within

rifle shot of the sea, copses of beech and oak growth sweep over what were once highways, and sometime fields that provided common and private pasturage. Directly west, there is a far-reaching countryside that is not dissimilar. Here alders check the flow through irrigation ditches, and clumps of sprout chestnut, with trunks big enough to provide telegraph poles and heavy railway ties, bury their roots deep in the land that was used by the Revolutionary soldiers for tillage.

For purposes of accentuation I particularize! Near the meeting place of the roads which come together in a part of this section that is still popular with picnic parties, lies the cellar of the house which was owned in the middle of the eighteenth century by Captain Moses Taylor, staunch Indian fighter, and leader in town activities. From this spot the rugged yeoman, jack-of-all-trades and master of many, set out for Springfield at the head of a neighborhood relief, when news came of the bloody massacre at Fort William Henry. That was in 1755. Twenty years later, grown older now and the possessor of a valuable farm, the same vigorous spirit headed the town detachment that hurried to nearby Concord where the "alarm-men" were summoned to chase the British back to Boston.

There are evidences that he was then the possessor of broad tracts of arable land which had been fully mastered by the plough. East and

west of the old cellar, are the farmyard enclosures. These reached in Captain Taylor's time, to heavy stone walls which once separated the pasturage from the mowing. North and south, were meadows and farm roads leading to distant grass lands. Adjacent to the farmstead, the cellars, walls and cattleyards of a neighbor whose name is no longer remembered by those who live in the vicinity are still to be seen.

Here are visible signs of an early rural activity that met with reward; of a home that was comfortable and satisfying; of human intelligence mastering natural problems. One does not have to know of Captain Taylor's honorable career to realize that this was a good farm, joyously ready to yield subsistence. Meantime, modern axes and ploughs have proved the case. The fields which five years ago were covered with second growth timber are full of fertility, and the outlying slopes, now wooded, hold out excellent promise to the orchardist who has the hardihood to attack a problem far less difficult than that which faced the pioneer.

Such is a single instance. Thousands might easily be collated. It will serve a purpose if it recalls the fact that the scraggly woods that appear to travel with us as we journey by train through New England conceal many a moss-covered evidence of colonial enterprise. Those deserted farmsteads which are near the main highway in the

south and east were undoubtedly first settled, and, though long occupied, first rejected. Those which are lost in the hills were planted later and enjoyed a briefer tenure. The abandoned homes of the Pemigiwasset Valley, and the weed-infested farms which straggle through other defiles of the Green and White Mountains, are of this nature. Guides still point out to inquiring tourists through the Crawford Notch the site of the Willey farm that was destroyed by an avalanche sixty years ago. It is but one of many like locations which might be cited to illustrate the experimental nature of late mountain pioneering. The surrounding scenery could not be beaten, but in most cases returns for toil were meagre. Therefore the hardy proprietors lost no time in packing up and making other ventures outside of New England.

It will hardly occur to any one that the motives actuating this movement are open to criticism. Man at his best has not failed to obey the Scriptural injunction to subdue the earth and have dominion over the life upon it. Physically fit, and yearning for broader fields than the Eastern hills could offer, both the restless and the ambitious listened eagerly to tales of rich river uplands. Long before the Revolution, many families had crossed the Hudson and reached the headwaters of the Susquehanna. Every one is familiar with the tragedy of the Wyoming! That was only an episode, if a dramatic one, in the march into and

across the Alleghanies. Hardly was it accomplished, than the Ohio beckoned and more than satisfied the promise held out by its broad meadows and park-like forests. Miniature New Englands grew up in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, almost before the imagination could picture the possibilities of these fertile territories.

We find it fascinating at times to watch surface water, which has collected in level areas, find its way to a lower basin. There is first a trickle—a thin stream—and then a little torrent as the water in various thread-like channels is brought into cohesion. Now there is a pull that swiftly withdraws the moisture from flooded fields.

It was not otherwise with the population of New England. Elliot, citing from narratives of an English traveller through Eastern Massachusetts and Connecticut in the late years of the Eighteenth Century, says—that villages and towns were less than five miles apart, and that the white steeples of two or three churches could be seen from any eminence. With their frontiers made unelastic by the dread of French and Indian atrocities, these settlements—over-crowded by new arrivals and the normal increase of families,—congested until favorable conditions arrived. Then a westward movement commenced which was natural and desirable. A farming people, cramped by granite hills and stony acres that appeared forbidding to the agriculturist of that day, packed up their

household goods, shouldered their rifles, and followed the sun.

Soon letters came back bringing excellent news. The pioneers had found broader channels of travel than anticipated. They were staking out claims in far-reaching bottom lands, or were opening up slopes that were rich in plant food. Helpers were needed, and opportunities for improvement were abundant. Never have such tidings failed to bring a response, and they did not in this case. The original scouting parties were followed by community groups, driving their cattle before them, and the community groups by caravans which sucked out of many a New England village excellence that could ill be spared, until an inconsequential expedition had swelled into a flood.

We now turn to the forces which were directed to intensive development, and which were to crowd New England with smoking chimneys and rows of cheerless tenements for imported labor. When the hitherto cramped yeomanry of New England pushed westward with the removal of the Indian menace, they left behind them shipmasters, merchants and mechanics who in spite of British restraining laws had busied themselves with trade and invention. To these the abrogation of the navigation laws and the new freedom that came with independence offered as roseate an outlook

as that which the country beyond the Hudson dangled before the eyes of the farmer.

Heretofore manufacturing had been hazardous and unprofitable because the natural distribution of fabricated output was forbidden. Therefore little or no utilization had been made of inventive faculties created by the prick of necessity. For similar reasons no markets had been developed except by stealth. In the beginning there had been some adventuring into the manufacture of iron from bog ore, much hewing and shaping of staves and ship timber, the fabricating of rough cloth, the making of hats, and the fashioning of other commodities for which there was a domestic call. Later clandestine trade with the Indies had furnished the raw production of rum which was regarded as a necessity of life, and the production of substitutes for finished goods shut out by non-importation policies.

Up to 1776, however, industrialism considered apart from the pursuit of agriculture, had been benumbed and half strangled by the prohibitive measures launched by Parliament. War brought release, and independence urged the exploitation of a myriad ventures which forged ahead as soon as the new Nation freed itself from the embarrassments inherited from the Confederation.

There are many ways of checking these up. I know of none better than recourse to the Statutes of the industrial states in order to note the yearly

increase in number and variety of the enterprises incorporated therein from year to year.

Such figures are suggestive and comprehensive. Meantime it will be well to mark more intimately the way in which the vigor of New England accumulated and then manifested itself after the removal of restraint. This development was as happy and as natural as was the outgoing of the agriculturist in response to the call of the rich hinterland and far distant prairies. Take for an instance the manufacture of boots and shoes. If we are to accept the record of those who have made a special study of available data, every early settlement contained a shoemaker who perfectly understood his craft and was competent to train his apprentices. Such men shod their neighbors as their part of the pioneering enterprise, and undoubtedly undertook to direct the movement of their disciples and the recruits brought in from across seas. Thus it came about that in the widening of the field covered by the colonies, each town was either supplied with a competent worker in leather, or received a regular visitation from an itinerate shoemaker. This continued for a time during the formative period in which men and women were dependent upon their own efforts or those of near neighbors. Congestion and distribution brought a change. Military service or the call of the fisheries, and prospecting made it impossible for a man to tan his own leather at the

edge of some nearby swamp as had been his custom, or to welcome the shoemaker to his fireside. He must get shoes by barter. Trade with the West Indies and the Southern colonies opened an opportunity for a skilled handicraftsman to send a venture of boots and shoes in some fellow-townsman's outgoing vessel. The adventurous woodsman who had staked a claim many miles distant in the wilderness could neither make his own shoes nor import a craftsman. Therefore he lined up his family, traced the imprint of each one's foot on a square of birch bark, and took his rough drawings with him when he worked his way back to town for powder and needed supplies.

Such development played a part in persuading the shoemaker to use his spare time for increasing his product, or to take on helpers. Little by little so-called "ten by ten" shops, accommodating not one but several craftsmen, made their appearance.

All this was healthful and exceedingly desirable. It gave occupation to many who were gifted with technical skill, who found their share in the paternal acres too small to support a family, or who lacked the lust of the pioneer. Therefore it progressed as far as the girdle of outlying stockades or the repressive laws of Great Britain permitted, and then when the limit was reached, chafed and waited for an opportunity. This came with the new era of independence, adjusted itself to the restricted conditions that were prevalent under

the Confederation, and then opened a wide field for lucrative service.

To understand the incentive offered to the leather and other industries at this period, we must bear in mind the activities of New England sailors who for a generation had exhibited a daring and sagacity which had compelled the admiration of mankind.

Says Burke—

Look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale industry. While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Straits—while we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the Antipodes and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their vigorous industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both of the Poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the Coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise ever

carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of mankind.

These seamen, sailing under dauntless navigators, had penetrated harbors as yet little known to merchants. As patriots who viewed the navigation enactments as unwarranted and not-to-be obeyed usurpations, they had tested their wits against the lords of trade and the admiralty. They were ready and willing to go anywhere at any time, provided there was a reasonable return. Here were incomparable carriers. The Napoleonic Wars provided markets, and the westward facing packhorses and caravans required a large store of manufactured goods which could not be supplied by regions that were unoccupied except by the Nomads. Under such conditions the "ten by ten" became a rather large shop, and the over-crowded shop a factory. Demand that was imperious and insatiable set in, and New Englanders met it partly because of high confidence in themselves, and partly through the inventive minds that had been evolved by decades when people had *to contrive.*

Readers of the older generation will recall resourceful veterans whose boyhood was passed in the years when the United States was an experiment. Many of these reflecting the virtues of

virile and brainy forebears, inherited a "knack" for finding a way out of difficulties either mechanical or economic and themselves provided a picture of bygone days. "Contrive" was a great word in the beginning of the nineteenth and at the close of the eighteenth Centuries. The ancestors of these messengers from the past had "contrived" to retain a compact colonial life in spite of the stratagems and brutal assaults of the French and Indians. They had "contrived" to wriggle themselves out from under the over-lordship of distant masters, and they had infinite faith in their ability to "contrive" ways and means for sustenance and self-expression. Therefore when there was occasion for speeding work and turning out more product, and the task was impossible by the use of known agents, they had recourse to the unknown, and by courageous ingenuity wrought their ends.

So it was that invention provided machinery. Meantime machinery once installed called for operatives to handle it. These were awaiting the opportunity and were impatient to perform remunerative work. They were not needed on the farm, and lacked the spirit of adventure. They were "stay-at-homes," with a liking for tools and mechanical employment. Responding to the call of some neighbor with vision, they hitched up their horses and drove into the village centers that issued the invitation. Towns like Lynn,

Reading and Braintree had made the beginnings. Around them and for sixty miles every way except seaward from Boston, other communities experimented with the industry and undertook to furnish the carrier and merchant with shoes. Healthful rivalry of itself might have speeded up production, but there was other incentive. Markets! Markets, which as we have seen, had remained closed under Parliament, but which now shouted for recognition. Better still, when the goods called for had been made, packed and shipped, not only did the same markets call for more, but other markets sought to elbow their fortunate predecessors in the creation of trade relations out of the way.

Just beyond the old West was a new West. New York and Western Pennsylvania had made the first appeal. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois followed—then the call became incoherent because of volume. The prairies, the plains, and the mountains were to be satisfied. It was not otherwise to the East and South. Daring, with Freedom as a yoke fellow, dug up new ports with every month, and the compact between the states stirred up a most lucrative trade with the rich slave holders of the South who had thousands of negroes to shoe.

Gold was to be had here, there and everywhere, and the supply was unending. Manufacturers of boots and shoes put themselves to garner it,

first in small quantities, then in appreciable lots. After that they scrambled for it just as the gambler reaches for and pulls to himself the shining eagles which a turn of the wheel has alloted to him. The Civil War sobered them somewhat, although the soldiers had to have shoes, and quite respectable citizens profited by the fact; but the War was soon over, leaving a disciplined youth that was eager to make itself felt. By that time the American flag was the ocean's own banner, and every port in the world was open to the product of Brockton and Manchester shops. There was nothing to limit the conquests of the New England shoe manufacturers, but lack of labor, and forceful men in the business felt that the time had come to supply a need which had proved a growing embarrassment for thirty years. Therefore they acted as their impulse dictated, without any thought whatever regarding anything but the shoe industry. Labor—cheap labor—was exceedingly desirable, and they had formed the habit of securing what they desired. *The immigration tables, with which we shall have much to do hereafter, accurately record the success which attended their effort.*

Here I pause for a moment to make sure that the reader is bearing in mind the thing that I am driving at. This little book purports to set out facts, 1—to convince the most optimistic that New Englanders of Anglo-Saxon stock have lost their birthright; and 2—to show the manner in which this

tragic conclusion was brought to pass. To my mind the unhappy service could have been and perhaps should have been shunned if the recorder had not believed he could suggest a reason for the sad happening. There is little use in marking the process of decay, or pointing out the loss of something precious to the unobservant, unless he who so acts hopes to avert further catastrophe. Here is a gay company which by an unhappy error is ambling along a treacherous path that will take them no whither. Merriment increases as the day wears on. Small use is there in telling them *that they cannot get back to the main highway which leads to their destination in time to perform the service they set out to accomplish.* Small use would there be in repeating their story to the contingent clattering far behind but still on the turnpike, unless it be by the way of warning.

What is this reason above adverted to? What is the cause behind the happenings which have changed New England? Earlier chapters were so planned as to make it apparent to the reader's quick intelligence without any present aid of mine. Meantime it is possible that my bungling attempts to record personal impressions have hindered rather than helped. Therefore I venture again in tracing certain events of the Nation's industrial expansion, to call attention to this truth, viz.: New Englanders, always restless after achievement, have declined to be contented with reasonable,

if perfect, attainments; and unwilling to provide for the conservation of past accomplishments before steaming forward in new adventure. The Puritan and the Pilgrim, mightily aided by God in man and in nature, got to heights that presented a wide outlook—an outlook that perhaps was broader than men had thus far enjoyed. Their state papers and early history, as integral parts of a new nation, abundantly reflect a desire to hold what they had acquired. In face of all this they and their stock, feeling the stir of power which had been generated within by the experience of the two centuries which we have lightly reviewed, let it take its course, without regard for the safety of things already won. Gold loomed large on their horizon. They made it their objective, and thus repeated the error that has beckoned every civilization to its doom. Trade is good. Ay! Commerce is the Deity's way of opening up communications between men. Ay! Abundant production of the things the body and soul yearn for is good. Ay! Ay! But mark this, reader. When the leaders of a nation secure wealth for themselves or for their people, the end threatens because man cannot or will not busy himself with great possessions without ignoring things which are infinitely more important. We have today thousands of universities and colleges in America. New England is top-heavy with schools, but as a people we do not know

as much as that self-curbing German tribe that Cæsar tells about. That is because the men of the generation that won Freedom for America were not content to devote their first thought to bulwarking the institutions they had created, and testing them out by the hot fire of experience. It is a hard thing to say, but the fact is now becoming evident, that the tremendous power which they had developed through suffering and service should have been held in check instead of given free rein.

"Looks like moralizing to me," says some one. I agree. Moreover I am quite sure that the digression interferes with the continuity which is so desirable in any story. Let us go back then to our narrative before any one has time to suspect that there is to be an arraignment of the boot and shoe industry as responsible for Anglo-Saxon decadence. If there is, it shall be by the reader and he will be asked to join in his indictment the textile industry, dealing in woolen and cotton fabrics, the machine-tool men, the silk business, and a thousand and one enterprises which are now turning out everything from unsalutary wooden nutmegs to fabricated metals and colossal dynamos. Among all these thriving activities perhaps none better illustrates the easy stages through which New England passed in progress toward great manufacturing achievements than those connected with the weaving of cloth.

As there were shoemakers in the first settlements

so were there expert weavers. It is only the other day that a haphazard glance at a diary of the early colonial period revealed the fact that a group of these skilled people were numbered among the first settlers of Ipswich. It will be remembered that in those days there was much fellowship between Dutch and German Protestants and Englishmen. Defoe makes Robinson Crusoe, whom most of us think of as typically English, say —"I was born in the year 1632 in the city of York of a good family, though not of that county—my father being a foreigner of Bremen who settled first at Hull." England had received many co-religionists from the Continent in the half century prior to the opening of New England. Among these were some eleven of the artisans who had made Flanders and the adjacent parts famous. These had stimulated a taste for cloth-making, and taught their art to a numerous company. It is not surprising therefore that an examination of the personnel which made up the population of the earlier settlements reveals a reasonable number of hardy craftsmen who were entirely competent to set up and operate hand looms, and keep alive the art of weaving. Their value as pioneers was quickly recognized by Colonial Governments which coöperated sufficiently to stir up jealous British inquiry about 1731, after the whole industry had been greatly advanced by the arrival of certain Irish spinners and weavers who brought

their tools with them, and set the whole countryside awhirl. Meantime, as in Europe, every household possessed its spinning wheel, and from the days of Priscilla Alden to Dolly Madison these were the media through which the people clothed themselves.

Fifty years ago attics harbored the tools and simple machinery which were used by the housewives of New England to turn out homespun. No longer of utility in clothing the family, they were frequently disentangled from their cobwebs to accentuate tableaux of colony life or serve the decorative taste of a past period. "It is a pity," as our forebears would have expressed it, that men and women who fought the Civil War—great men and great women—could not read their mute message:

Here we are discarded but still in excellent condition. The fact that you have not broken us up or thrown us aside as litter proves that the new inventions which are bringing you wealth are of comparatively recent date. We are here because you have not accustomed yourselves to do without us. That means that there is still time for you, who are in hot pursuit for new conquests, to reconsider whether you are giving sufficient thought to the need of preserving the virtues of our day. When the hostile Indians were hereabout you were cautious to dispatch scouting parties and flankers to protect your primitive expeditions. That was wise, "Common Sense" you

called it. Can't you see that the wealth that you crave is more treacherous than the savages and that you must be cannier than men have heretofore been or you will lose more than you gain in acquiring it? If you are bound to master riches before riches master you, there is occasion for you to do much thinking.

That is what I imagine the old flax wheels and spinning wheels would have said to the builders of our factories, if they had been vocal. Unhappily they were not. Therefore when the cotton and woolen manufacturers of that mid-century epoch, emulous of the reputation secured by the exploiters of that field, set out to parallel the accomplishments of their predecessors, they neglected to give their problem the comprehensive study which it demanded. They were familiar with the story of Samuel Slater, with his revolutionary innovations at Pawtucket and Webster, and they gloried in the achievements of his American contemporaries. They knew of the masterful way in which Lowell and Jackson and the Lawrences had harnessed the Merrimac and built the manufacturing towns upon its banks. They were conversant with the manner in which these keen-sighted, fair-minded men had made the new century of industry attractive to potential labor in hundreds of villages throughout New England by providing safeguards for the human as well as the mechanical factors. They unquestionably hoped to acquit themselves with

equal honor to themselves and the community by importing labor on the one hand, and by a clever adaptation of the labor-saving devices that were already threatening to demoralize the Patent Office in Washington. What they appear to have overlooked was—a truth only recently hinted at by publicists, viz.—that industry is a medium in democracy for the untying of social problems as well as those which have to do with the economic production of wealth. Lowell had sensed this when by providing for the bodily and spiritual welfare of his American labor, he both attracted self-respecting country people who needed employment, and assured himself of profits. His successors were further removed from the period of fine political insight that saw the birth of the Nation, and the textile industry was well started down the slope of a wrong objective before they came into control. It was easy to move with the current as it always has been and always will be. Therefore, with much less time to think their problems through because of the magnitude of the affairs in which they were involved, they sought for labor wherever it could be found. The men who organized the first factories with a view to capturing the markets opening to Yankee enterprise, secured help to run their looms in the home village. Those who followed found it necessary to hitch up and drive around the outlying neighborhood to get the recruits they needed for a growing

business. Soon this field was swept bare, and the rapidly increasing number of spindles compelled the adoption of measures that attracted countrymen who were not otherwise employed from distant sections.

Here was a practice natural enough, and apparently reasonable. Followed to its logical conclusion without stopping to give much attention to the consequences, it seemed to justify the rounding up of the available Irish, French and German labor that conditions in Europe and Canada were pushing into our ports, and then to the solicitation of alien labor. There were those who dreaded the experiment as we shall see, but the manufacturers did not. To speak frankly, they had eyes for nothing but markets which beckoned alluringly, and which could not be satisfied and held without the retaining of more and more labor. Therefore in due course they sopped up with their industrial sponge such immigrant muscle as was available, and inaugurated advertising measures which attracted strangers from beyond seas as the magnet draws metal filings.

What has been said in regard to the activities which brought about the primacy of New England in the manufacture of boots and shoes, and textiles, is equally true of numerous other industries that were mothered by Connecticut—the recognized

home of the tin peddler and other crafts which beckoned to Yankee invention and ingenuity.

Those who have looked over the diary of Joshua Hempstead, which that methodical personage kept from 1711 to 1758, will recall that this man—this marvel—was not only farmer, stone-cutter, and surveyor, but also house and ship carpenter, attorney, sailor, trader and town officer, besides being Judge of Probate, and serving on all town committees. A better instance could probably not be given of the manner in which necessity developed a keen sense and clever hands in the New England colonies. Doubtless there were thousands of others like Joshua Hempstead, who after the Pequots had been driven out of the country, and the Narragansetts and Wampanoags "done to death," had to turn their talents to improvising in a wilderness comforts that their forebears had known in Merrie England. These were first supplied for home consumption, and then manufactured for barter, but had been desperately limited by the policy of the selfish mother-country.

No sooner had Freedom given her fiat than the sometime worker in metal and the peddler became a manufacturer and merchant, with sufficient trade on his hands to give employment to such of his neighbors as cared to share in his prosperity. Mills sprang up in towns in the Naugatuck and other valleys which have become world-famous, and a thousand and one devices from the shops of

gunsmiths and the makers of Yankee notions awakened the cupidity of the residents in less fortunate colonies. Hence a demand, compelling and broadening, for curious notions and the more practical fruits of Connecticut enterprises which the manufacturers were unable to fill without imported labor!

What was the canny industrialist to do under such circumstances? "Plan for a suitable development after gathering all the facts which had to do with his well-being," say we. To us it seems obvious that the political factor should have been one that a far-looking man must consider. But it is to be remembered that the average man, however forceful and clever, does not look very far into the future. The fact that a path is wrong is far more obvious to the traveler who has arrived at a wrong destination than it is to the person who hurriedly selects it.

The worker in brass and metal in the counties bordering on Long Island Sound, just like the manufacturer of textiles and the worker in leather to the north of him, was undoubtedly weary of political activities. These had demanded his attention from the time of the beginnings of the Revolution until the working of the new Federal Constitution had been fully tested. He therefore forgot his own aphorisms in a desire to take advantage of every economic opportunity that offered.

Gold brings riches and power. Its possession is altogether desirable, and humanity in New England, after abstention from luxury, whether it recognized the fact or not, was hungry for it. Therefore these enterprising business men, acting with their manufacturing brethren of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, scoured the nearest docks for additional hands to help build their fortunes.

Shall we leave the New England industrialist on his quest for employees, whether his enterprise be one of those to which we have made reference or not, while we note the response to his invitation. It is not difficult to envision him. A virile personage with all the qualities which have made the Yankee conspicuous. He no longer powders his hair or wears a peruke, and he has discarded small clothes. Lean and well-favored, still active in town-meeting, taking great pride in the Republic that he has helped to build, he is as dramatic and historic a figure as the Spartan at Thermopylæ. He is too sophosticated to be termed provincial as might have been asserted of him up to the date of the battle of New Orleans. He has an exalted purpose, and yet it is his destiny to bring about conditions which are to imperil the institutions to which he is devoted and to submerge his progeny.

CHAPTER VII

HERE THEY COME!

WHILE the Federal Union in America was responding mightily to the urge of nationality, things were happening in Europe. Crowns and thrones which had been tossed about by the revolutionary upheaval in France were settling back in some sort of shape. Do what you will with the kaleidoscope, the crystals within after assuming various figures, will finally fall into some design. It is not otherwise with political aggregations.

For a generation the people in kingdoms and empires across the water were jounced hither and thither, with little opportunity to consider vital problems. Then came Waterloo and the conferences of Vienna and Laybach. Now that Napoleon was deposited on a lonely rock in the Southern Pacific there was a chance for royalty to reassert itself, and for its subjects to do some thinking along economic lines. These latter had for some time been suspicious that they were being ruined by a long succession of wars which

had stricken their families and wasted their substance. They now found this to be a fact, and looked afield for opportunity to retrieve their fortunes, and to disentangle themselves from an environment which had proved disastrous.

Thus it happened that long before Uncle Sam had decided that he had an industrial future, they had already scented opportunity in America. The Census Returns of those days are unsatisfactory, and the Immigration Bureau did not commence to register data regarding arrivals until 1820. Meantime we know that long before the latter date there was a great incursion of British and Germans drawn from the middle class. These were largely agriculturists who were anxious to put a furrow into the soil of a new land. With them came the forerunners of millions who have sought the United States in order to escape military service on the Continent of Europe, and large contingents of Irishmen. A farmer turned his face westward after arrival in this country. The Irish laborer using the warm season for his strange venture, found work in the spring and summer in the outlying suburbs of prosperous towns, and with the closing in of winter lost his occupation, and was drawn into the cities where he became a factor of serious embarrassment.

It was fortunate for him that other forces were at work or he would have been utterly undone. MacMasters tells us that the native migration

from the seaboard that had followed the dawn of Independence became so great by 1817 that its effects were visible. "Towns and cities," he says, "ceased growing. Some were almost depopulated. Others had but trifling gains." Then he ventures the statement—"Had it not been for the thousands of immigrants that came from the old world, depopulation of the Atlantic States would have been yet more perceptible."

There, in a sentence or two of the record, is a remarkable story of events which is full of significance, and explains why floating immigrant labor received a temporary welcome during the open seasons.

I propose to shortly discuss the hegira which MacMasters portrays because of the part it plays in bringing about a marked modification in the stock of New England, but this may be better postponed until we have acquainted ourselves with the character of the European throngs which were disembarking at our ports well before the lumbering wagons of their forerunners began their trek toward the prairies.

In doing this it should be remembered that up to the period of nationality New England had been preëminently English, or better yet, colonial English. We have noted the incoming of the Scotch-Irish. Here and there before their advent the French-Huguenots and Dutch traders had cast in their lot with British fellow-religionists, only to

be rapidly absorbed. Such newcomers had added vigor to the communities in which they finally settled, and by the time of the Revolution had been merged into the prolific race with which they already had much in common.

Henry Cabot Lodge speaks for all students of the period when he makes the assertion:—

> There was no part of the United States during the colonial days in which there was so little mixture of races as in New England.
>
> He quotes Dr. Palfrey as saying—when referring to this section—"For one hundred and fifty years there was practically no admixture of blood with the English stock that first settled the country."

If Mr. Lodge and others had not provided these facts, an inquirer might well come to the same conclusion—First by disregarding accepted historic reports, and by noting that the whole population of New England in 1790 was but little greater than might have been expected from the natural increase of the known arrivals from England during the early colonial period. The fecundity of the Puritan and Pilgrim was amazing—families numbered from eight to twenty, and for a man to have twelve children was by no means unusual. Second, by a careful examination of the elaborate returns made by the New England states under the order of Congress in 1790 which required each Commonwealth to number its citizens and return the

names of the heads of families. While it is undoubtedly true that there had been accretions to the original stock from a mongrel crowd of seafolk that frequent all ports, and from the incursion of such European strains as have been adverted to, it is a surprisingly notable fact that the names that are on this record for all time are preëminently English.

Carrying these facts in mind, we are in a position to mark the general changes produced by immigration in the United States as well as in New England. In 1817 30,000 immigrants were recorded at the Port of New York. Other ports made proportionate returns. Rumors regarding great areas of fertile land in the yet unopened regions of the United States caught the imagination of Western Europeans as well as Americans. Agricultural England was stirred. Yeomen commenced to sell out their inherited interests in the old country and to purchase tickets for the new country. There was apparently much propaganda set on foot by land agents and great proprietors who were deep in speculative schemes. These enterprising men could not turn a profit unless they could induce settlers to come into the regions which they were developing. There were plenty of facts to justify the man who had failed to make progress on a British farm, in selling out his cottage and worn-out acres, and in embarking for "fresh woods and pastures new."

While there is no method of ascertaining with any degree of certainty the number of English farmers who followed this course, there are existing records which show that various county authorities in England were seriously bothered by the movement. England had not been over-considerate of its yeomen, but it felt dependent upon them. The fact that their outgoing occasioned some hysteria leads us to conclude that the numbers immigrating were considerable.

If America had its attractions for the stolid Anglo-Saxon, who longed for an opportunity to thrust his plough into virgin land how much greater was its appeal to the restless Irish. Always a liberty-loving race, and impatient of restraint, the Irishman foresaw an opportunity in America which he has since realized. Pushed by the same spirit that actuated the gold-seeking Spaniard of two centuries before, he hazarded everything on a new adventure. Unfortunately, however, he was miserably poor, and could not bring with him to America sufficient money or working tools to assure him success in a new environment. Therefore, on arrival in the United States instead of moving west he was forced, as has been seen to stay in the country about the ports of entry, and barter his labor for a mere subsistence. This was well enough as long as winter held off, but brought its own complications as soon as the snow flew. Immediately the streets of large towns in the

Eastern states were crowded with ill-clad and poorly nourished laborers who became more or less dependent upon charitable societies and benevolently disposed citizens. It is presumable that these people kept in touch with the communities from which they had come. Unfortunately it does not appear to have in any way dampened the ardor of a large following who continued to crowd into trans-Atlantic boats. No one will ever know whether this was because home letters were written during the early period of employment, or because the would-be emigrant felt that he could surmount difficulties that had floored others. The outstanding fact remains, that by 1820 many societies not only in New England but as far west as Illinois had been organized for the relief of destitute prospectors from Erin. These rejoiced in such titles as—"The Irish Emigrant Society"—"The Hibernian Charitable Society"—avowedly selecting names which indicated their object. Others were known as Emigrant Societies (there being some confusion in those days between the word emigrant and immigrant). These recited in their preambles that they were organized for the direct purpose of succoring Irishmen.

The creation and operation of such agencies, all of which is a matter of record, conclusively illustrates the manner in which the character of the population of New England as well as economic

conditions were becoming directly and seriously affected by immigration as early as the administration of John Quincy Adams. Meantime the least imaginative Yankee could hardly have asked better notice of the cataclysm that was to overwhelm this favored section than was offered by the incorporation of these societies, and the call upon the public for financial aid which shortly followed.

Heretofore the average New Englander had set aside a sufficiency by the industry and thrift which away from the seaboard had become a habit. People as a whole were agriculturists, their leaders dwelling in the plain but substantial farmhouses which attracted the attention of George Washington when he rode through the country on his early visit to Boston as President of the United States. Many of these excellent homesteads remain, severe in style but so admirably proportioned as to satisfy the eye. Those who are curious will find examples as far north as the foothills of the White Mountains. These are small as compared to the ample dwellings which are located in the agricultural districts. Large or small, they fit into the landscape, whether clinging to bleak and rocky ridges, or dominating a rich countryside. Large or small, they testify to the sometime restraint of a vanishing Yankee culture.

Now and then communities had been called upon to give aid to the families of fellow-citizens who

had been cut off in their prime or had lost out through sickness or misfortune. They had known cases of destitution caused by over-indulgence in liquor which was freely used, but proportionately there were few cases to tax the pockets and the attention of the average householder.

Now everything was changed. Shabby and slatternly outposts grew up in the neighborhood of thriving towns. This perhaps provoked more criticism than sympathy. The Yankee was not unwilling to give freely of himself to the deserving, but his moral training encouraged him to regard the victims of economic law as idle and inefficient, and if he rendered aid to the first considerable groups of Irish who made their home in New England, it was more or less perfunctory. The not unmusical brogue, which has become so familiar to later generations and lends itself so well to the expression of humor and kindly purpose, was looked upon as a heathenish dialect, and if it had not been for the service which these newcomers were ready to render in the digging of trenches for municipal improvement, the carrying of mortar, and the performing of a thousand and one tasks which fall to unskilled labor, they would have been altogether unwelcome.

How it was that religious prejudice, which was on tiptoe in the early part of the last Century, failed to formulate measures for the expulsion of the Catholic Irish as quickly as they were received,

it is difficult to understand. The six states of New England were made up of a people whose stalwart independency had made them extreme Protestants. The very name of Papist had no other meaning to them than that of a religious tyranny, if not persecution. Although their leaders were fair-minded in all questions that had to do with matters political or industrial, they had been trained religiously in a narrow groove and were blind to the virtues of those outside the pale. Notwithstanding the fact that they were readers, there is little reason to believe that they had access to books which were critical of Protestantism. On the other hand there were few towns which were without at least one copy of Fox's "Martyrs." The woodcuts in this recitation of dreadful tortures imposed upon fellow-Christians by the Roman Catholic authorities, were pored over by children who sought relief on Sunday from the strain of prolonged church service.

It is not surprising then that these folk who were of the reformed religion thought of the Pope as anti-Christ, and of his followers as seed of the Devil. But it is astonishing to realize that notwithstanding this feeling of repugnance no particular measure was at any time suggested to discourage the incoming of a people which well inside of a Century was itself to be a dominating influence in New England. Perhaps the delightful influence of Bishop Cheverus who made himself

beloved in Boston, explains the toleration shown his co-religionists.

In due course for historical purposes reference will be made to Yankee acts and statements which indicate apprehension. For the present I shall confine myself to the consideration of statistics which are now in order.

It is impossible to show how many of the aliens who came into New England from the close of the Revolution to 1820 when the Federal Government first commenced to keep accurate data in regard to such arrivals, tarried in the six states which are now under consideration.

Jesse Chickering, to whom every American is indebted for the warnings uttered in connection with his statistical reports in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, appears to have believed that a large percentage of individuals in Massachusetts tabulated as "natives" in 1850 were of recent foreign stock—There is significance in the fact for those who have failed to realize the false impression given by the use of the word "native" in modern Census Reports.—As conditions in Connecticut and Rhode Island were not dissimilar to those in Massachusetts, it is probable that a sufficient number of the subjects of Great Britain remained to color the character of the population.

Many undoubtedly moved West to join fellow-countrymen who sent alluring letters from the settlements along the always expanding border.

Some of their own will, like the Germans, continued restless until they had thrown in their lot with the distinctly German population of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and others again were encouraged to pack and leave by the benevolent societies and town authorities.

Meanwhile the places of those who passed on were quickly filled by new comers pressing upon their heels. The charts furnished by the Commissioner General of Immigration are helpful in indicating the personnel of immigrant arrivals in the United States since 1820. Because these provide a background for further study of changing conditions in New England, they deserve particular attention. Between the last-named date and 1830, 128,000 foreigners entered the country at large. Of these far more than half were from Great Britain and Ireland. Next to the mother country the nations which sent the largest delegations were—Germany, 5,753—France, 5,135—Switzerland, 3,148—Holland, 1,105. The Scandinavian countries, which later forwarded large contingents, contributed but a few immigrants during the first part of the Nineteenth Century. There were only a handful of Russians and Italians, and Austria-Hungary (unless her provinces are accounted for in the unclassed group of foreigners), was not yet represented. Hardly had the decade for which figures have been given passed, than the Annual Immigration Returns commenced to treble

those of 1830. 60,000 foreigners, of whom one-quarter were Germans and Swiss, entered our ports in 1832. British arrivals immediately prior to this year had fallen off, only to gather strength again in 1834 when the British and Irish formed more than one-half of the whole immigration, which exceeded 65,000. From the year 1834 to 1842 the full returns for no one year were less than 38,000, nor greater than 84,000. During this whole period the British and Irish contribution continued exceedingly large, being five-eighths of the whole in 1842, German immigration maintained a fairly steady increase, the largest number for any one year being 21,000, the French at no time returned more than 7,419, and the Dutch, Scandinavian and Swiss were numbered by the hundreds rather than by the thousands.

1843 on the Government charts marks the beginning of a great flow into the United States from Germany, which is explained by the struggle for free institutions in Europe. The culmination of this special movement brought in 215,000 Germans in 1854 when the whole immigration return was 427,000. This is the only year recorded on Government charts up to 1869 when German immigration passed that of Great Britain and Ireland. Meanwhile it remained large. For a short time[1] during this extended term, viz.—1843–1869, considerable numbers of French en-

[1] From 1845 to 1856.

tered the country; at no one time more than 21,000 a year. Scandinavian immigration was small, rising to 4,000 in 1852—although failing to reach that figure again until 1866 when 13,000 arrived. Italian, Russian and Austrian immigration continued of little import, but Great Britain and Ireland poured adventurous thousands into our ports, furnishing 3,130,000; more than one-half of the 6,029,000 immigrants to the United States.

Those who are helped in their study of history by graphic illustration would do well to examine the Immigration charts from which the above and following figures are drawn. Like a river that narrows between obstacles and then broadens as it journeys through meadows and swamps—so the stream of newcomers is pictured as successively widening and diminishing. Here, is shown the inconsequential returns of the days in which the steamships did little more than fill up the gaps left in the Atlantic seaboard states by the removal of the native population to new homes in the Western Reserve. There, are notable indications of the tidal flow produced by famine in Ireland and gold in California. Immigration lessens during the days when New England was answering the call of the Free Staters to colonize Kansas and Nebraska, and the Nation was a tip toe to note the results. Massachusetts and Connecticut men and women were working in their own mills, and there was less agitation in Europe.

It reaches its low point during the stress and strain of the Civil War which was to produce a vacuum in the Nation's talent and man power.

With the information which the reader now has in mind as to the homogeneous character in 1790 of the six Northeastern states—the manner in which the long suppressed energy of the Yankee drove into industrial activity after the establishment of the Nation—and the westward movement of immigrant peoples—the data which follows is vocal in its significance. If we had more such figures, and if a sagacious and reading electorate would automatically adjust itself to their appeal, it could dispense with statesmen.

Look! Here is a tabulation from the National Census. It indicates the manner in which New England was affected by the immigration to the United States which has just been considered.

The population in 1850 of—

		Whole Population	Foreign Born
Maine	was........	583,169	31,825
New Hampshire	"	317,976	14,265
Vermont	"	314,120	33,688
Massachusetts	"	994,514	164,024
Rhode Island	"	147,545	23,832
Connecticut	"	370,978	38,374

From these returns we deduce the following interesting conclusions—viz.—that less than 75 years ago the complexion of the people of

		Native Born	Foreign Born
Maine	was........	94.6%	5.4%
New Hampshire	"	95.6%	4.4%
Vermont	"	89.3%	10.7%
Massachusetts	"	83.6%	16.4%
Rhode Island	"	83.9%	16.1%
Connecticut	"	89.7%	10.3%

Before discussing the outstanding features of these summaries it will be well to dig deeper.

What was the character of both native-born and foreign-born?

The first query is of trivial importance for the purposes of this particular study. Whether we take the case of Vermont in which little more than five per cent of the whole native population had been born out of its borders, or states like Massachusetts where the percentage of Americans born elsewhere approximated only fifteen per cent of the people—it appears that the very great majority of all residents were of local origin.

The second, query viz.—What was the character of the foreign-born?—brings out matters of considerable interest.

Thus it appears that even in the three states which may be regarded as industrial in character, *nearly the whole foreign population seventy-five years ago was unquestionably of so-called Nordic type or of the versatile English-speaking Irish stock which had performed a part in establishing British institutions.*

Vermont had some excellent French-Canadian immigrants, and Massachusetts, because of the whale fishery claimed as many as 290 Portuguese, but if we except 264 Italians distributed all over New England, although chiefly in Massachusetts, the Northeastern States were practically without any of the so-called Mediterranean group.

In the whole section there were only—Twenty-one Turks, thirty-five Austrians, and forty-five Russians.

With the Germans it was otherwise, although these only comprised a negligible part of the population. 4,319 were in Massachusetts, 1,671 in Connecticut, 290 in Maine, 230 in Rhode Island, 218 in Vermont, and 147 in New Hampshire.

The rest of the so-called foreign-born were from Great Britain and the Provinces.

To sum up—the whole number of Continental Europeans in New England in 1850 could not have much exceeded 7,700, and the great majority of these had the same racial antecedents as the Puritan and the Pilgrim. All the remaining foreigners were English, Scotch or Irish, who had been assimilated, although there is no question, as we shall later see, but that the Irish who were first resented because of their religion and as a result of Protestant New England's segregation for two hundred years, introduced problems that came with the incursion of strictly foreign peoples.

To the eyes of the incurious of our generation these tabulations look harmless enough!

With institutions now crammed full of persons whose names are unpronounceable to the English tongue—with mills operated by labor drawn from eighty nationalities—and schools crowded with children of recent European stock—too many minds have adjusted themselves to strained conditions. Therefore they find earlier returns that show the people of Massachusetts to be little more than 16 per cent foreign-born—(these strangers using the same tongue, or being of similar origin), and the people of New Hampshire to be over 95 per cent of native stock—harmless enough.

This they are in themselves, but there is no question but that they looked portentous to our great grandparents because they indicated a break in the solidarity of a community that had shared its traditions and its principles for six generations.

I shall discuss the evidence of this state of mind that has come down to us in an early chapter. To those of us who use the figures thus presented for comparative purposes, (placing the National Census tabulations of 1850 beside those of 1920), they demonstrate the pitiless suddenness with which a civilization may be blotted out, and fairly shriek a warning.

We have remarked that the compilations published by the Federal Government show a slackening of immigration between 1854 and the close of

the Civil War. Prior to this period the opening of California and Oregon were matters of world moment, and Europeans crowded the sailing vessels of that day to their capacity in the expectation of sharing in the treasure locked up in the soil and mines of the Pacific States, or of filling the places left vacant by the pioneers. Much of the tide swept by New England, but enough of it remained, as is indicated by the first regular decennial Census of Massachusetts in 1855, to fill whatever need there may have been for unskilled labor. The United States Census of 1850 indicates that Connecticut and Rhode Island shared in this accretion of population prior to 1855, which in the brief space of two or three years brought 65,000 Irish—12,000 other British subjects—and 5,000 Germans into the Bay State. Then came a sharper drop than appears elsewhere in the available Federal Returns. The Kansas-Nebraska feud between slavery and the free-soilers was doing much to speed the coming of the irrepressible conflict, and the World was conscious of something portentous. Economic conditions were unfavorable. There was rumor of conflict which might involve newcomers, eventually crystalizing into war. Europe was too conscious of trouble at home to be tempted into troubles that it knew not of. The frying-pan was disagreeably hot, but the fire—(the United States between the Battle of Bull Run and the fall of Petersburg), was far

hotter—therefore Britons and Germans stayed at home.

It will be sufficient to again consult the Massachusetts Censuses of 1855 and 1865 for this data. That of 1855 was prepared under the eye of the far-sighted Chickering, and that of 1865 by Dr. Edward Strong, who had as a wise adviser the father of Carroll D. Wright—soon to become famous as a great statistician. These show that in 1865 there were only 17,000 more British-born subjects in the State than in 1855. The increase in the Irish was but 1,873. By far the largest, British gain was from Canada, viz.—10,000, an increase for the Province of 49.21 per cent. During the same period Germans added 1,400 to their number, and the Portuguese, who had made Massachusetts their objective, 1,000. A few Italians had come and gone, leaving only 120 more in Massachusetts than in 1855. France, Denmark and South America showed losses.

In 1865 then, if we accept the Massachusetts figures as providing a reasonable medium through which to ascertain the character of the population in her sister states, the personnel of New England was not much different from that of 1850, except for the great accession of the Irish, a large proportion of whom were females. These were occupying the places formerly held in the household, by the American women known as "domestic help," who had been drafted into the mills.

The whole population of Massachusetts in fifteen years increased, owing to the awful sacrifice of War, not more than 27.4%—and of this body the foreign element (Irish, other British and Germans) cognate in speech and institutions, or in racial ties, was but 20.4%, whereas in 1850 it had been 15.8%. We shall not greatly err if we conclude, because Massachusetts was more particularly affected by immigration than her neighbors, that these figures fairly illustrate nativity conditions in New England. From the standpoint of 1924 the New Englanders of colonial stock continued in 1865 to hold complete ascendancy in the land of their heritage. Flushed with triumph that attended their arms, chastened by a great sorrow which had swept away a large proportion of their choicest youth, they were competent in council and action. It is not improbable therefore that they would have met and satisfied the political problems soon to formulate, if the urge of the hour, which will later be referred to, had not absorbed their attention.

CHAPTER VIII

NEW ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN FIFTIES

IT may prove interesting before we thrust deeper into this problem, to visualize the general conditions of the New England of the mid-Nineteenth Century.

The American Statistical Annual of 1854 gives us a charming inlook. Taking the states up one by one it describes the physical characteristics of the country, gives glimpses of the history, provides some interesting figures as to population, and industries, and quotes pleasingly from the inaugurals of state executives. Thus we learn—that Maine "has a flat and sandy coast, and that the interior is pleasantly varied with hill and valley, with outshoots from the White Mountains on the Northeast." We learn that the state is well watered, and that its principal industry is the dressing and exportation of timber. An upstanding fact is that there were only 87 prisoners in state institutions under date of April 30, 1851. The percentage of increase in population had been greatest between 1790 and 1800—57.16%, and, curiously

enough, smallest between 1840 and 1850 when it was only 16.22%. This indicates that since the Revolution Maine had been built up largely by Americans. The largest towns were then as now on the coast and river valleys. The general surface of New Hampshire is described as hilly and mountainous, only a narrow tract by the ocean being level and gently undulating. The rivers furnish the best mill sites. Apparently these are far from being occupied. In 1850 New Hampshire contained sixteen towns, which are listed as of considerable importance. The largest of these away from the coast was Somersworth, with a population of 4,943. The greatest increase in population, as in Maine, had been between 1790 and 1800—29.57%, and the smallest between 1830 and 1840, 5.66%. In the last decade the increase had been 11.17%.

The Governor's Inaugural in 1853 is delicious! After stating that conditions in the state were prosperous "beyond any former period of our history," it goes on to say—"our plains and valleys are covered with a network of railways, (624¾ miles), the cars rush along upon the tracks with human and animal life and all kinds of merchandise with almost inconceivable velocity." (How little the honest man suspected that they were only beginning to get up speed. We move faster in these days.) Continuing he gives us a picture of domestic felicity hard to beat. "Colleges,

schools and Sabbath schools which impress upon the susceptible and plastic mind of youth sentiment and principles to be incorporated in their nature abound." There is not a word in his whole address about immigrants—Yankee culture with its deep religious trend is functioning—and his ear has evidently never heard the hoarse appeal of the radical industrialist talking in a high and angry key in twenty different languages to unskilled labor in the mill towns. To him the land was ahum with the voices of cheerful operatives. New Hampshire pleads guilty to the charge of having 118 patients in the asylums for the insane in 1852, and there were 111 prisoners at Concord.

The *Chronicle*, gathering figures for Vermont, which notwithstanding the early military settlements at Fort Dummer and elsewhere had hardly enjoyed more than fifty years of community life owing to the counter-claims of New York and New Hampshire, gives some very interesting data as to the increasing population. Thus—in ten years prior to the opening of the Century the increase was 80.84%, and in the ten years between 1800 and 1810 it was 40.95%. This of course reflects the coming in of French-Canadians to take up the cleared lands which the Green Mountain boys had deserted for Western adventure. In the last ten years from 1840 to 1850 the increase in population had been but 7.6%. There is little evidence of recent European immigration. There

were 372 persons in institutions, presumably as a result of the incursion from the North.

The description of Massachusetts in the Old Almanac is brief and sufficient. "The Green Mountains cross it in two ridges. East of these the surface is broken by gentle swells, and in the Southeast by level sandy plains. The valleys of the Connecticut and Housatonic are fertile."

It has been noticed that Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island because of rapid industrial development became of special attraction for the immigrant. In the case of Massachusetts the Almanac figures make this apparent. Between 1790 and 1800 the increase in the population was 11.73%. The people of the Old Colony were pointing west, and the increase marks the difference between newcomers and Massachusetts pioneers. Between 1830 and 1840 the increase in population was 20.85%. Between 1840 and 1850 it was 34.81%, and was largely made up of foreign labor.

The notable towns in the interior were Springfield, Worcester, Adams, Chicopee, Fitchburg, Northampton and Pittsfield. The largest of these, Worcester, had only 17,059 inhabitants. Springfield, next in importance, contained 11,066 souls.

There are quotations from the inaugural of Governor John H. Clifford which indicate a much better understanding of the limitations of a Democracy than are reflected in the state papers of the

present hour. Charts reviewing conditions in State lunatic asylums show the number of occupants to have increased 100% between 1833 and 1852, and the Superintendent of the new hospital at Taunton is quoted as saying that the number of inmates in ten years had doubled. Returns relative to the poor filed by Amasa Walker, Secretary of the Commonwealth informed the public that of 14,388 state paupers 11,321 were foreigners, and 9,788 of these were from England and Ireland. Supplementary reports show that 1,590 foreign paupers had come into the State in one year.

Descriptive pages regarding Connecticut refer to the Housatonic, Connecticut and Quinnebaug Valleys as "now ahum with industry." Figures relating to population show an increase of 5.40% between 1790 and 1800, and 19.62% between 1840 and 1850, nearly four times the return for any other decade except that between 1820 and 1830. Connecticut is credited with 32 large towns. It was already taking on the business character which it has today. On July 1, 1852, there were 167 convicts in the prisons. Rhode Island, like her sister states to the North and West, showed sharp gains from immigration. Between 1790 and 1800 the increase was but .02%. Between 1840 and 1850 the gain was 36.49%. There were but 35 convicts in the State prison.

CHAPTER IX

RELEASING THE BRAKES

WE have seen how New England leaped forward spiritually and materially in response to the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Ralph Waldo Emerson in his sketch of New England subsequent to 1844 not only bears witness to the manner in which the enfranchised spirit of the Yankee dared everything but has recorded with some particularity the achievements that followed in the realm of thought.

There was a new consciousness. The former generations acted under the belief that a shining social prosperity was the beatitude of man, and sacrificed uniformly the citizen to the state. The modern mind believed that the Nation existed for the individual, for the guardianship and education of every man. This order roughly united in revolutions and national movements, in the mind of the philosopher had far more precision. The individual is the world. This perception is a sword such as was never drawn before. The social sentiments are weak; sentiment of patriotism is weak; the natural affections feebler than they were. People grow philosophical

about native land and parents and relations. There is an universal resistance to ties once supposed essential to civic society. They are fanatical in freedom. They hate tolls, taxes, turnpikes, banks, hierarchies, governors—yea—almost laws.

Conditions thus set out explain the wearying insistence with which the abolitionist and other reformers pushed their romantic campaigns. They knew what they wanted. They were careless of consequences, and refused to be shackled. In the meantime while they rode roughshod over the sensibilities of the business man and the statesman, they fired the imagination not only of Boston and the New England communities clustered about it, but of the whole North. As a consequence many descendants of the Puritan and Pilgrim became romancists who refrained with difficulty from drawing the shining blade from the scabbard. The cotton grower of the South and the copperhead of the North were soon to find these tyros of the North thrilling an army of industrialists with an eerie sense of the glory which lies in sacrifice.

Unhappily such eclectics, seeing visions and dreaming dreams, over-reached themselves by endeavoring to secure high ends without regard for human limitations. Everywhere they muddled things for well-meaning citizens, who refused to throw overboard such inherent horse sense as they possessed. Let the student who desires a look

in upon the methods of operation used by reformers of the period, dig out from the dust of unused shelves in his favorite library, the narratives of the conservatives who founded and guided the New England Emigration Society, which colonized Kansas and Nebraska with pioneers from the industrial North. He will find there that the manufacturers and merchants who followed Thayer in joining conflict with the slave-holding overlords of the South, were politically and economically sound. Industrialists realized that if the "border ruffians" once secured ascendancy over all the great territory into which Northern business men were pushing their caravans, the latter would be checkmated in their broad designs. National in their economics and politics they were bent upon conserving their financial interests without disrupting the Union. Far more sensible than their money-getting children of the next generation, these men at no moment lost their sense of perspective. Daring and vigorous to the last degree, they were yet temperate, moderate and sagacious. *They knew where to stop.* Therefore they were plagued beyond expression by the escapades of John Brown and the Garrisonians who, as Emerson hints of the thinkers of their day, appeared to have cast loose from devotion to the Constitution and its underlying principles. The commercialist of those times believed it to be patriotic and expedient to safeguard the Union, and criticized the

unwisdom of the moralist who sought to obtain moral objects by unmoral methods.

Such glimpses into the past are of infinite value. We know something of the transcendentalist, and of the propaganda pushed by the altruistic spirits of the period which is having our attention. There is no better way of understanding them than to observe their policies and actions when they intrude themselves into such a movement as saved Kansas, and Nebraska for the Union. Spiritually these people reached the mountain tops which were envisioned before the colonists became united in a free Nation; and then, letting themselves go without any sense of balance, or of the Platonic "even mean," lost much which they might have retained if they had kept their feet upon the ground. For the time being they were not followed by the great middle class which continued to maintain its poise under such excellent leadership as Webster was giving it in politics, and the Lawrences in economics. A generation was to pass before that unhappy consummation was brought about. That American business would ultimately swing into line must have been anticipated by the astute. This on general principles. The heavy-footed materialist is apt to ultimately strike the trail first blazed by the idealist. When the idealist points true it means a new world for humanity. When the idealist is in error, it forebodes disaster.

From 1820 to 1860 the theorist, whatever he may have won for philosophy, blundered prodigiously in the field of politics. The hard-headed men who made Abraham Lincoln President then saw this clearly. Who would have believed that four years of war and the prostration that follows war should have so blinded and numbed their senses as to permit them as industrialists to commit mistakes which were more grievous than any of those made by the pre-War reformer.

Turning now to the field of physical accomplishments! By 1861 students of events were in a position to mark the extraordinary results which followed a hunger for material things, within the territory which is the subject of our inquiry. Rural districts which had given body and power to the agitators for Independence had been deserted for the city or for the West. The towns were teeming with people and buzzing with industry. Daunted by neither distance nor difficulty, the farmer had climbed the Alleghanies, and crossing or following the current of great rivers, had found the country beyond the Mississippi. Great areas of cultivated hillsides and prairie and a thousand busy towns indicated the way he had passed. He was now battling with the horse-riding Indians and outlawry on the great plains.

Patient and persistent the mechanic and merchant had evolved wonder-working machinery which cheapened the cost of the commodities which

they had to offer, and were competing in the markets of the world. Great manufacturing towns like Lowell, Hartford and Manchester, and splendid fleets of clipper-ships in New England harbors gave ample evidence of the courage which dominated their undertaking. There was abundant evidence that the material-minded were hotly endeavoring to follow the daring idealist into a danger zone.

This was the time for political self-examination and readjustment. It was then perfectly obvious, as it has been at all times since, that ambition, love of nature, and commercial enterprise were taking the majority of New England's best men and women into distant parts. It was also clear that the immigrants substituted for the outgoing throngs were inferior in discipline and natural endowments. The Massachusetts militiamen were quick to think and act. They were the first to respond to Lincoln's call for troops, and the men behind them in the States of the Northeast seaboard were not fools. They recognized the significance of the changes going on about them. They clearly perceived that the wilderness was closing in again around sites which had been won by years of Indian warfare and great privation. They realized that villages which had been the center of Revolutionary appeal and patriotic devotion were losing their population and becoming inconsequential hamlets, and they viewed with

keen apprehension the manner in which town purlieus were taking on the shabbiness which bespeaks the presence of shiftless and unthrifty strangers. It is doubtful if this fine citizenry could have stopped or would have wished to stop the outgoing of their empire-building compatriots, but they could have blocked or shaped the tide of immigration which was destined to overwhelm them. Why they did not do so is one of the marvels of history. They were equal to any spiritual task as they immediately proved in the magnificent devotion with which they fought in the succeeding four years for the preservation of the Union and the destruction of slavery.

The chronicler and the philosopher will explain their failure to act well betimes, to the inability of man, however gifted, to concentrate upon more than one issue at a time, and a deplorable tendency to choose the wrong issue. These tendencies joined with a not un-natural belief that it was wise to first untangle the difficulty in hand (secession), before buttressing for the future, probably account for the seeming neglect by the Civil War generation of matters that intimately affected their homeland. Meantime it is instructive to review some of the reasons which might well have spurred them to action. This, the American of today, who is conscious that his countrymen are yearning to meddle with European problems, and are outrageously neglectful of their own con-

cerns, should be able to do without criticism, (without assuming a "holier than thou" attitude).

1.—I have called attention to the depopulation of rural New England caused by the opening of that part of the Continent which lies between the Hudson River and the Pacific Ocean. These facts taken together with the decay of agriculture and the choking up by disuse of old roads, were constant subjects of discussion and provided causes for apprehension.

2.—The literature of pre-War days was a call for action and provided a reason therefor. Reviewed in these days it conclusively proves that the New Englander was informed that the hour of homogeneity, racial and political, was passing, and that the passing brought a great responsibility. This literature varied in character. The most important was official and accompanied reports like those from which my figures are drawn. Condensed into bald but eloquent language such editorial comments record the conclusions of eminent statisticians who in those days unquestionably enjoyed the respect of the community. Among these none were more prominent than Jesse Chickering who appears to have been a man of mark. Statements from his pen are well worth reading. Neglected today, they will yet be found by the inquirer on the shelves of many a New England library.

I have had occasion from time to time to refer to the foresight of the men who laid the foundations of New England's industrial prosperity in this period. These individuals who were living near enough to the upstir of Revolutionary times to retain a shrewd political sense, were responsible for the inauguration of a Decennial Census in Massachusetts and for the appointment of men of capacity to arrange and interpret the scheduled returns. It is greatly to be regretted that they did not push for similar reports in Rhode Island and Connecticut which shared with Massachusetts in the new industrial life. Perhaps it was taken for granted that Massachusetts' returns would, as they do, sufficiently gauge conditions in Southern New England.

Reference to the Massachusetts Censuses of 1855, 1865 and 1875, during which period Carroll D. Wright came to national prominence, provides the best sort of evidence, that our grandfathers having legislated to secure information, were in possession of data which should have enabled those following them, if they had been so minded, to preserve the integrity of the electorate. Not only did they have figures, but they had such illuminating comments thereon as were provided by thinking experts. Thus in 1855 by a proper analysis of figures they must have learned that after giving due regard to births and deaths there was a recent increase of 82,000 in the population

of Massachusetts which could only be accounted for as an excess of foreign and domestic immigration over emigration. Again they had an official warning in the Census of 1855 which, after making the assertion that in 1850 no less than 38,000 foreigners had been landed by water in Boston, pointed out that in Suffolk County there were already 67 foreign inhabitants to every one hundred natives; and that in the County of Worcester the foreigners comprised nearly one-fourth of the population. Again—they were advised by these earlier statisticians not to overlook the fact, as we are wont to do at present, that the children born in the United States during the period of great immigration although classed as native may retain the character of aliens.

For Massachusetts the following returns are printed, and may be hunted out by anyone interested in race psychology. If Belshazzar of old was frightened by the appearance of a few letters on the wall of his banquet hall, letters which were at first believed to be undecipherable, he would have been thrown into a fit by such plain announcements as Census compilers laid before the Yankee of the mid-Nineteenth Century;—

In 1855 he was informed in suitable tables that—

181,000 persons were classed as natives who were children of parents born in Ireland;

20,000 natives were children of parents born in England;
21,000 natives were children of parents born in British-America;
9,000 natives were children of parents born in Germany and Holland;

Here is another tabulation which talks and is chockful of suggestion in regard to the changing character of the cities.

Counting the children of foreigners as natives the commentator notes that—

61.57% of the inhabitants of Boston were foreigners;
54.17% of the inhabitants of Lowell were foreigners;
63.70% of the inhabitants of Roxbury were foreigners;
71.66% of the inhabitants of Lawrence were foreigners;
60.49% of the inhabitants of Fall River were foreigners;

The chart gives the returns for 15 cities.

Here are some other figures. In 1845 the American population of Boston was 67.40%. In 1850 this had decreased to 54.27%. To put it differently—the American population in the second five years had decreased 2.27% and the foreign population had increased 70.20%.

Continuing, it is pointed out that in 1855 Americans constituted 47.2% and foreigners 52.98% of the population of Boston. These returns indicate that the Americans had increased 8% and the foreigners 34.33%.

With such material before him the expert took occasion to provide his fellow-citizens with information regarding exigent conditions, and in those days the people read statistical returns, (if you doubt it look over the old junk inherited from your father or grandfather which remains in the homestead attic and you will find the original books of facts and figures which many a library would be glad to own). No one will claim that the average voter at the present time ever dreams of applying for such volumes as may be printed and available.

"It will be very difficult," said the author of the 1855 Census, "to name a day in the future when the number of American citizens, in the distinctive sense that this term is used, will again constitute a majority, and it is worthy of remark, 'referring to political matters,' that while the native voters have increased 14.72% the foreign voters have increased no less than 194.64%."

Imagine a statesman of today having the sagacity or the audacity to trouble his fellow-citizens with any such dry material. For a period which begins with the birth of a middle-aged New Englander now living, to the present moment not only the Eastern States but all industrial America have been joyously and idiotically naturalizing every alien whom they could cram into the body politic. Manufacturers have argued that by so doing we will stabilize labor, hammer into the heads of these

foreigners the idea that this is their "own, their native soil," and retain them here for our purposes. The fool altruist has said that the dear things must be assimilated. They have then dinned a certain shibboleth into the ears of the receptive foreigner, thrust into his or her hands a pair of wornout trousers or a discarded skirt, and escorted their victim to the naturalization authorities with the guileless assurance that they were doing something rather fine. Directors of Federal Bureaux in a desperate desire to do *something* to catch the public eye have used the Government printing offices in their effort to accelerate the movement of the inflowing stream, and politicians have made careers for themselves by seeing to it that the blocks of non-English speaking foreigners are railroaded into citizenship in time to record a vote for some legislator or executive who is fitted for anything but office.

The results are perfectly apparent today, and were foreseen by the men of the fifties. The native without an acquisitive sense or money-getting hunch, has been practically eliminated, and the foreigner, whatever his racial connections, *who is a thinking man*, believes in American institutions and has become a citizen in order to uphold these and provide for his children, has been put in a position of hopeless embarrassment. These last citizens—and I am glad to enter this remark that I may not be misunderstood in these

strictures upon the foolishly or criminally minded persons who have speeded up naturalization—to-day form a large part of the real bone and sinew of the New England Commonwealth. There are still a few men of New England lineage in the conduct of large banking, manufacturing and commercial enterprises who have vision, but their influence is lost in the opportunism of their fellows, and only a minority of the older stock is found in their following. The individual of the hour in New England was born on the other side of the water, or is the son or grandson of a recent immigrant. He became an American citizen through a love for American institutions, unaided by philanthropy or political machinery. Taking advantage of free institutions as far as they still permit one to move unhampered, he secured for himself recognition and some property. It is not to the descendant but to the disciple of the Puritan and the Pilgrim that the world must look for the preservation of such democratic principles as are worthy to abide.

This may be the place to print the following shrewd statement from Chickering's summary of statistics of New England;—

It seems from what has been stated that as a general conclusion we may view the history of the population of this Commonwealth thus far as follows:

In the first age of our history the people dispossessed the aboriginal race of the soil, subdued the forest, and converted it into fruitful fields, and divided the

land into farms of a size which suited their notions of what was necessary for a livelihood.

This was done about the close of the Revolutionary War, or as early as 1790 when most of the land was taken up. Since that time agriculture has remained nearly stationary, and the population according to the Censuses increased over a series of years but slowly, while most of the surplus emigrated to other states.

This state of things existed until about the year 1820 when a new field of industry promising more agreeable means of support was opened by manufacturers which have since detained men at home, and *attracted others from abroad into the Commonwealth.* Similar processes have commenced in most of the other states in the Union, as appears from preceding statements.

3.—I think it will be agreed that tabulated figures and physical evidences of decadence were sufficient to stimulate New England to the adoption of corrective policies in the days when Jesse Chickering was prophesying. These however were of small moment as exciting causes for corrective demonstration when compared with the incursion of a then detested religion. Here is one of the most curious anomalies of the ages, and one almost without parallel. Today in spite of the fact that the evils following religious prejudice have been much ameliorated, it is difficult for sectarianism to push into fields occupied by a population trained in other beliefs. As a consequence Protestant

Missionary Boards appear to prefer work in regions heretofore denominated heathen, rather than attempt to penetrate Catholic States like Spain and Austria, and the Hierarchy shows no apparent enthusiasm in tackling the Scotch or the dyed-in-the-wool Protestant counties of England.

What then shall we say as to the complete penetration of Puritan New England by Irish Catholics in the days when every city and town was ablaze with the re-kindling of religious fervor which followed the revival preaching of Finney. I think of no other explanation of the phenomenon than that the New Englander of that hour, drunk with the sense of achievement which brought wealth, deliberately preferred material acquisitions to spiritual concepts. Gold, if you please, to God. No one who takes a brief for him will dream of claiming that he didn't understand what was happening. He knew that the laborers he was employing were Catholic, that they were with him to stay, and were everywhere building Roman Churches which outraged his own narrow but self-preservative prejudices. He was just as cognizant of this as the New York City altruist who spends his life babbling about international peace, knows that his own great city is neck-deep in an inter-racial problem that will some day wreck it if not solved.

The unhappy fact is, that knowing that Puritanism to which he claimed to be loyal, was imperilled,

the Yankee did nothing that it was logical for him, as a Puritan, to do to prevent it.

But to return to the testimony, cumulative and unassailable, which bears witness to the uneasiness with which the alien advance was viewed by those whom the increasing tide was sweeping aside. Here we do not have to deal with hearsay. Hundreds of men and women will witness thereto on inquiry. Here are news-columns crammed with facts showing the reactions brought about by the presence and activity of Roman Catholics. Here again are editorials. One has only to read the printed word to possess himself of the arguments for corrective action that would root out a growing danger. "Had not the fathers immigrated to escape Church influences which they detested because they smacked of Rome?" "Was not the Hierarchy and Tyranny one and the same?" "It was incredible that the descendants of the men who had exiled themselves to secure intellectual and physical freedom, and the men who had won civil Independence should harbor the followers of an alien church." Thus it was argued in the Press and many a child of the Sixties and of the Seventies, after listening to tales of the Inquisition, lay awake nights because of an unhappy foreboding!

That this is all very strange in view of present conditions is beside the point. Each generation must gather its own facts and draw its conclusions

therefrom. If it is mistaken in its facts, its conclusions to a degree will be erroneous. When the understanding of the situation is a matter of major importance, a wrong hypothesis leads to grave consequences. In matters which are subsidiary the consequence is only embarrassing.

Every one will agree that the Protestant churchgoer of the times (most respectable people went to church), not only was informed in regard to the fact of the establishment of the Irish in the domain primarily held by the Puritan and the Pilgrim, but that he was correct in his mental processes when he concluded that this meant the overturning of all his religious traditions. That his views as to physical violence in the near future as a result therefrom were absurd, is equally apparent. What we need to remember is, that in his mind the Irishman as a Catholic impersonated something which it was difficult to articulate, and which called upon him to use all his spiritual resources to fight and expel if he was to maintain his traditions. Some one has said that it is human nature to arm against possibly fancied but future evils, while ignoring present perils. While this may not be true in some instances, it is strikingly apparent in the story of New England. The New Englander of the Forties and the Fifties looked forward with apprehension to the time when the zealots of another faith might oppress him religiously. He appears to

have been absolutely unconscious of the fact that he was soon to be embarrassed by the extraordinary aptitude for politics possessed by these strangers in his midst.

While we are now recalling recorded evidence which pictures the descendants of the Puritan in the middle of the last Century as viewing with alarm the religious creed of immigrant newcomers, rather than the strange cultures of alien stocks, I cannot avoid pausing for a moment to discuss the extraordinary qualities which characterized the Irish immigrant. He was dreadfully poor. Perhaps because he had long been under the coercion of the English landowner, he frequently appeared to lack the qualities of industry and thrift which marked other Britons. Hence he was at first submerged! Bringing with him various characteristics which distinguish the Irish counties, he was a constant puzzle to the American. Now he failed miserably. Again he performed an assigned duty with a fidelity that provoked the admiration of his employer! The late President Lucius Tuttle of the Boston and Maine Railroad once said to the writer—"The railroads have never known a more responsible section-man than the Irishman of the old immigration. He was absolutely dependable."

Successful or unsuccessful, his Celtic charm and wit introduced a lively element into the serious communities which gave him shelter. He dug trenches, spaded gardens, helped about the stables

and revelled in the novel adventure to which he was committed. Gregarious by instinct he flocked with others of his race and quickly grasped the problems of the home community which had to do with practical politics. Thereafter he either led a gang or became one of a flock. Thus he was in a position to give or receive favors. He became an officer of the law, or as a ward leader directed the influence secured by such guardians of the peace. Here were promising beginnings. How they eventuated we of the present time have occasion to see when we go to the Capitol or the Town House or meet the official class in our community.

It is only yesterday that these Irish people were strangers in a strange land. Today on the eve of being swept into obscurity by the great tide of immigration that has pushed in after them, they are not only in control of certain affairs, but have won the high respect of their fellow-citizens. Not an office is closed to them. They wear the toga in representative assemblies of the State and Nation. They preside in Courts of great dignity and authority. They are the executives of states and cities renowned for their opulence and pride, and while some happy sagacity has led them to give more attention to political rather than commercial affairs, there are those among them who are merchant princes.

Yesterday a great man died in New York. The passing of a cabinet officer of the United States or

of a crowned head produces less stir than has followed. The son of humble immigrants, he was born June 20, 1858, a date which falls into the period which we are surveying. His story would be a fairy tale, if it were not explained by the sagacity with which he used native power of mind and heart. Commencing with other great Americans at the bottom of the ladder, he was at first a sheep yard employee, then a bar proprietor. He climbed higher. There is a gang instinct that is an asset. He had this, and working through sport and political channels, he gathered a following. This forced him into the attention of men who had a grip on ward, on city, on state, and on national politics. Consolidating favor by kindly offices he undertook the direction of modest affairs and proved his competence. After that there was swift progress. Men of capacity and power get quick recognition, if they so desire. This man had great ambitions, although he talked little, and his following willingly gratified them because they shared, or felt they shared in the good that came from his leadership. Once under way anyone might see that such a character as we have described would travel far. Few realized who knew him in his youth that he would some day control the strongest political aggregation in the greatest state in the Union. This he did to a degree that made him a compelling power in the Nation.

Shrewd enough you were in your own conceit, you Yankees who welcomed the old immigration, but you were coquetting with forces to which your grandchildren and great grandchildren would pay tribute. Couldn't you see it? It seems plain enough to our day that given a fair chance, the countrymen of Grattan and Erskine would be bound to have a hand in any political pie that came within their touch and vision. Were you so dissatisfied with your contemporaries and neighbors that you wanted a change in the management of your inherited interests, or were you so obsessed by bogies that you lost your canny estimate of men and measures?

4.—Reference to matters political brings us to another, and perhaps the strongest reason that might properly have led our forebears to enact corrective immigration laws. This was the anti-foreign political sentiment of the hour.

History is interpreted variously, but its facts when assured are rigid. You may group facts artificially to bolster some self-constructed theory. You may draw wrong conclusions from facts or bury them with litter. All these things you may do, but after they are done everything will be as before. Facts are grim and will have to be taken in their awkward nakedness.

The Know-nothing-party of the mid-Nineteenth Century has been regarded as an unlovely fact. Historians have explained it variously without at

all changing its significance. Turn and twist the Know-nothing-party as you will, look at it from every angle, you will find it reflecting a great dread of the foreigner. This was emphasized in New England where in its last days the Party elected a Governor for Massachusetts. No one can say in the face of such a phenomenon as this secret agglomeration of voters which was continuously stating its principles, that the men who formed the Party were not shaken with alarm for fear that they would lose their hard won liberties.

The reader can turn to Van Holtst if he wants to get an understanding of the hysteria which manifested itself in every section of the country penetrated by the high-grade immigrants of the years in which Know-nothing-ism was rampant. There was not a political leader in such sections but who had either catered to the new Party or studied it as a compelling factor of the hour. Southerners of note found in it an expression of nativism struggling to slough off ingredients which were sucking its life blood. Emphasizing that phase of Know-nothing-ism which resented the possible dictation of the Papacy and European autocracies, they used it to distract the attention of the North from issues raised by slavery. Leaders of the older political parties criticized it as lacking the character of permanence, but were quick to perceive within its lines the germs of the new Party which was shortly to be led by Abraham Lincoln. Sa-

gacious self-seekers used it as a medium through which they might stir the deepest religious passions of the multitude, and break up existing organizations which interfered with their own ambitions. Working in secret these latter became powerful enough to push for the adoption of party machinery which put them in a position to dictate the way in which the rank and file of the organization should vote.

Thus the Know-nothing party was variously interpreted and used. It was a hotchpot reflecting various sentiments and emotions, ending finally in action not only absurd and illogical but utterly opposed to the purposes for which it was initiated. To some it was a matter of dreadful seriousness—to others, a joke—to the artful, an instrument—to posterity, a monumental fact evidencing a fear on the part of the age that saw its creation that Europe through immigration was about to dispossess the Nation of its liberties. Who shall say that if this alarm was felt, (the elections of the period prove this), it was not the duty of New Englanders to address themselves like patriots and shut the immigration gates with a bang?

5.—There are various other reasons why action which never was taken should have been forthcoming. These had to do with the highly revered policies of the colonies and the young Nation which had not overlooked the matter of the immigrant—with primary civics—with social science.

I take it that it is unnecessary to enumerate them at this juncture.

It is true that the whole political sky during the days of the Administrations of Pierce and Buchanan was black with portents. "Coming events cast their shadows before," and of these shadows the greatest, foreboding war, was projected by the institutions of slavery. To those who were worried by the phenomenon, immigration from the Eastern hemisphere probably seemed a minor matter, but it would have been well for the thinking man with his desire for the permanence of New England stock in mind, if he could have realized the tragic fact, that if powerful forces are not diverted in the beginning, they will become all compelling.

Why should he not have realized that it was time for him to do the corrective thing in the matter of immigration, which his fathers had failed to do fifty years before in the matter of slavery? Why did he not think? The man who can tell us why so many people at the present time are doing things which negative the high principles which they are supposed to advocate, ought to be able to furnish an answer.

CHAPTER X

1860–1880—PAUSE

IF I have been successful in my handling of the matter which I wish to bring to the attention of the reader, the latter has refreshed his recollection in regard to the character of the first considerable immigration into New England. In general it was English-speaking with some contributions from the German people. He is also more or less familiar with conditions in New England following the first essay in industrialism, and has in mind facts of more or less historical importance which indicate the pre-War attitude of the New Englander in questions which had to do with immigration.

It is my purpose now to briefly consider the twenty-year period between 1860 and 1880. Initiated by the Civil War in America this epoch which saw little change in the personnel of the population is notable because of the industrial resurgence which followed that dreadful conflict and the reaction therefrom.

As far as the appreciation of the meaning of immigration was concerned there was a slipping

back. This is partly explained by inconsequential arrivals from Europe, and by the adjustment of people to changing conditions. The most satisfactory explanation, however, lies in the fact that the attention of men was fully and aggressively occupied by the War itself—by the unloosing of latent energy stamped under foot during the period of hostilities—and by the panic that followed the first splurge of industrial activity.

The manner in which New England acquitted herself in the War for the Union is a matter of common knowledge. For years the communities of this section had been shaken by the appeals of Garrison, Phillips and other famous abolitionists. With the shaping of sentiment in favor of the black man came *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* written by a New Englander, and the verses of Lowell and Whittier, both New Englanders. As has been the case when similarly great questions have moved the race, those who were not directly interested in the primary demand of the hour were forced into a deeper consideration of public affairs than would ever have been given under other circumstances.

John Brown and his confreres were for freeing the slave at the cost of the Union. To the less emotional merchant and man of affairs the assertion of such doctrine was wicked heresy, if not treason. Running abreast of the flaming zeal which called for negro enfranchisement was the

patriotic fire of loyalty to the Constitution which permitted slavery.

Extraordinary results followed. Here—estimable citizens, having business relations with slave-holders, were condemned by neighbors of their own town as in league with the Devil. There—advocates of freedom for all were denounced as black Republicans, fools and traitors. Passion ran so high that consequences far more serious than those which attended the return of Brown to the South might have transpired had not the slave-holding South lost its patience and determined to rid itself of noxious interference with what it had been brought up to regard as a righteous institution. On the other side of Mason's and Dixon's Line there were conferences and secret meetings. In Washington developments looking toward a coup d'etat. Suddenly South Carolina went on record for nullification, manned her batteries, and voted herself out of the Union. Bang! went the guns at Sumter, and quick as thought the parties in the North, strung to a high tension and bitterly antagonistic, fused in a great dread lest both Union and Freedom for white as well as black should altogether cease.

Marvellous times these—with the boys in country villages and mill towns volunteering and automatically mobilizing in response to the clear call of the great Illinoisian. No draft necessary in New England in these days. Men who knew

nothing of war shouldered muskets in their eagerness to express spiritual impulse in action; women with their intuitive sense of righteousness, cheering them on; and capital for the nonce immolating itself for a principle. Revered principles, incarnate in flesh, budded, flowered and fruited in various sections, South as well as North—nowhere more magnificently than in New England.

It will be agreed that *there was no time for a discussion of immigration.* The Yankee, whole-souled, was engrossed and properly engrossed in the perpetuation of the fundamental thing which underlay his institutions. Other perils might be looming in the distance, but secession was a present sickness that called for immediate remedies.

1865! Pressing close after the great cortège containing all that remained of the emancipator came the victorious armies of the North, pushing through Pennsylvania Avenue in the last great review. The Army of the Potomac; the Army of the Tennessee; the Army of the Cumberland; pressing towards home. In their ranks were the volunteer regiments, now veterans, of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. Almost to a man they reflected the emotions of the ranger of the French and Indian times, of the Continental soldier. There were the Massachusetts regiments that had won glory at Antietam; the remnants of Stanard's Vermont brigade that were the first to cross

bayonets with George Pickett's cheering columns at Gettysburg. There was the 4th Maine, heroes of Malvern Hill, the 7th New Hampshire, recently hotly engaged at Petersburg, the 17th Connecticut, and the 1st Rhode Island Batteries. There were scores of other regiments made up of men yet striplings bronzed by the suns of the South, sturdy, resourceful, and famous, who had upheld New England's best traditions.

These men, who if it had not been for the stirring times might have been lost in the ordinary swing of events, had found themselves in active campaigns launched for high purposes. Alive with energy and impatient of mediocrity, trained to adventure, and keen for accomplishment, they revolutionized New England.

Necessity for providing food, clothing and shelter for long neglected families required the first attention of the returning volunteer. Then employment must be sought—furrows run through farm fields that had lain neglected—shops reopened—business responsibilities which were slackening in the hands of the elders, stirred into life—and new enterprises which the boys had dreamed of while bivouacing on the battle field, set on foot. *There was no time to discuss matters having to do with immigration*, even after men and women of that hour felt the great impulse which marked the return of the Nation's manhood to industry. Days marked by the historian as an era of prosperity

followed. New England money watched by careful men in New England banks and counting-houses was busy all through the west.

The beginning and end of this special period were so close together that there was little opportunity to turn the mind to other things than the business of the hour. I have it from an old officer who won a high commission in the heroic days, that within a month after the return of the citizen soldiery Metropolitan Boston was transformed. Before "Appomatox" the banker and merchant appeared upon State Street, the business center, about ten o'clock in the morning, conventionally dressed, precise in movement and habituated to archaic methods. Within six months after the fall of the Confederacy the financial centers of the "Hub" vitalized by the inflow of new and very red blood, had taken on the aspect which is familiar to this generation. Everything that interfered with serviceable activity was set aside. Tall hats and long coats disappeared. Office doors swung open in the early hours. Young faces were found on "Change," in the street, everywhere. New names appeared at the head of great industrial enterprises. Boys who had gone to the War as junior officers had brought back honorable titles which vouched for responsibility, character and daring. The old "fellers" who would have kept James Brown, still a mere stripling, on a high clerical stool when new opportunity presented it-

self for a man to prove his worth, quickly adjusted themselves to new conditions. You can't, if you will, hold down a Captain, a Colonel, a General, who has earned and won the admiration of the public, and who has tested his own worth. If you are shrewd, you are not disposed so to do.

It was logical that the solid men of Boston should have perceived this and acted accordingly. As a consequence there was a revolution in business. What was true of Boston was true of Providence, New Haven, Hartford, and all the great towns of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. New England men were already in touch with the great Union Pacific Railroad enterprise. They now engineered a hundred other ventures of major importance in the middle West. They built cities in the prairies, and bridged the plains with steel. The Atchison, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads were planned and built. New England money provided funds for the settlers driving their ploughs through the virgin soil of Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado. New England money poured into the mining enterprises in Nevada and California, and became vocal here and there in the sections of the country where capital was needed.

A fair-minded critic is disposed to be exceedingly considerate of the Yankee of this hour. In his endeavor to restore treasuries drained by the War, and again catch step with progress, he

neglected to give careful attention to statistical data that had appeared threatening to the last generation.

1873! Here was a collapse—numbing and dreadful; economic law putting a firm restraining hand upon business ardor that had forgotten to be cautious; recalling to public attention in a very curt and crude way that the unsettlement caused by the War was not yet a thing of the past. Bankruptcy followed. Financial bubbles burst. Financial schemes which lacked foundation tumbled over. There was Black Friday on Wall Street—the collapse of the Northern Pacific enterprise closing the doors of Jay Cook's establishment which had won national fame by the succor it had given the Government. Terror paralyzed the heart of American business, and New England which was more or less involved in all forelooking experiments, shared in the general fright.

That there was unhappy occasion for this will be recalled by readers who were at school and college in those trying times. Evidence was found in the empty textile factories here, there, everywhere. The fire in the furnace which had been kept aglow for many years was smudged out, as it were, in a moment, and the blackened chimneys and deserted factories alone remained to prove that New England had made a mis-adventure in attempting to compete with Pennsylvania in the iron business. These and other signs of finan-

cial distress were not lacking in every county throughout the section. *There was no time to give much attention to political problems having to do with personnel.*

This brief study of the absorbing influences which held the attention of New England men and women between 1860 and 1880 should in a general way explain why New England marked time in regard to all questions which had to do with the character of the population during that pregnant era. There were other forceful reasons. The chief of these were negative. Nothing sensational happened to change the social or political status. While there was a revival of immigration into the United States between 1865 and 1874, the War itself and the financial disaster referred to in recent paragraphs brought immigration to the lowest ebb which it had reached since 1843. For the moment—the immigrant who had been regarded as objectionable slipped out of sight. In 1878 only 138,000 newcomers entered the whole United States. Of these probably less than 20,000 —a negligible number—were of Mediterranean or so-called Alpine stock. Meantime it is a notable fact that of the entries in 1873, when industry was at its peak and the largest number of immigrants for this period came into the country—by far the greater proportion was of British or German origin—that is to say—out of a total of

459,000 immigrants, 166,000 were British, and 149,000 were Germans. There were more Scandinavians, (35,000), than Irish (14,000).

While this immigration touched New England, coloring faintly the character of the employees in the mills, examination of the voluminous Report of the Immigration Commission, appointed February 20, 1907, will show that a large proportion of the aliens arriving after the War and prior to 1880 found work outside of the borders of New England. The Chinese remained on the Western slope. There was a call for newcomers to dig the trenches and do unskilled work in the growing cities through the middle West, and on the newly constructed railroads which were everywhere projected. Development of the coal and iron industry in Pennsylvania attracted the British and German stock. As a consequence conditions affecting the personnel hardly changed in the Northeastern States. The Irish, as has been seen, were already there in great numbers. They were now drifting into the mills.

On September 9, 1864, the famous War Governor of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew, delivered an address to the New England Agricultural Society in which he said, characterizing New England—

For nearly two centuries and a half, already, have her people kept the vestal fire of personal and public

liberty brightly burning in her little town democracies. Obedient to order, and practicing industry as well as loving individual freedom, they have acquired at last an instinct which discriminates between license and liberty, between the passion of the hour and the solemn adjudications of law. They possess the traditions of liberty, they inherit ideas of government, they bear about in their blood and in their bones the unconscious tendencies of race, which rise almost to the dignity of recollections and which are more emphatic and more permanent than opinions. By the toil of more than seven generations they have acquired and hold in free tenure their titles and their possessions. The dignity of the freehold, the sacredness of the family, the solemnity of religious obligation, the importance of developing the intellect by education, the rightful authority of government, the rightfulness of property fairly earned or inherited, as flowing from the inalienable self-ownership of man and the rights of human nature; the freedom of worship, the idea of human duty, expanded and enforced by the consciousness of an immortal destiny, are alike deeply imbedded in the traditions and convictions of the immense and controlling majority of our people.

On the whole the population of New England in 1880 varied little in racial character from that of 1860. There were more people in the sections under consideration, but the Simon-pure Yankees not only formed a great numerical majority of the population, but were in a position to absolutely control the future of the community which their

forebears had builded, and the principles which had come down to them as a fine heritage.

I have stated the facts, now for the supporting figures. We are examining conditions which are without precedent—conditions which mark the immolation of a race, and the beginnings of an inter-racial experiment that beats the Tower of Babel enterprise. We cannot afford to blunder.

The Federal Census of 1880 shows the whole population of New England in the latter year to have been—4,010,000. The attached charts will indicate how this population was distributed.

CONNECTICUT

Total population	622,700	American born	492,708
		Foreign "	129,992
Ireland	70,638	Nova Scotia	513
England	15,453	German	15,627
Canada	15,428	France	1,079
Scotland	4,157	Italy	879
Sweden	2,086	Switzerland	680

RHODE ISLAND

Total population	276,531	American born	202,538
		Foreign "	73,993
Ireland	35,281	New Brunswick	293
Canada	16,300	Germany	1,966
England	12,500	Sweden	776
Scotland	3,039	Italy	313
Nova Scotia	1,401	France	312

New Hampshire

Total population	346,991	American born	300,697
		Foreign "	46,294
Ireland	13,052	New Brunswick	474
Canada	25,703	Germany	789
England	3,497	Sweden	131
Scotland	1,102	France	98
Nova Scotia	816	Prince Ed. Is.	86

Vermont

Total population	332,286	American born	291,327
		Foreign "	40,959
Ireland	11,657	Nova Scotia	142
Canada	24,344	New Brunswick	101
England	2,253	Germany	396
Scotland	1,006	France	138
Wales	514	Sweden	68

Massachusetts

Total population	1,783,085	American born	1,339,594
		Foreign "	443,491
Ireland	226,700	New Brunswick	12,006
Canada	71,431	Prince Ed. Is.	3,613
England	47,263	New Foundland	2,699
Nova Scotia	29,307	Germany	16,872
Scotland	12,507	Sweden	4,756

MAINE

Total population	646,852+	American born	588,193
		Foreign "	58,659
Ireland	13,421	New Brunswick	13,955
Canada	10,095	Prince Ed. Is.	365
England	3,716	Wales	283
Nova Scotia	3,574	Germany	688
Scotland	1,397	Sweden	988

Of the grand total, as will appear in the same collation, only 793,388, or less than 1/5 of the whole population were foreign-born. The great majority was of pure native origin; tall, gaunt farmers from the Berkshires and Green Mountains; hearty, rangey woodsmen and ship chandlers from the shores and woods of Maine and New Hampshire; and shrewd resourceful Americans from the three industrial states—by far the greatest proportion of them having been born in the communities in which they were domiciled.

Here was a masterful people, not only fit to handle their own affairs, but to summarily deal with any such foreign-born minority as was then living among them, if the latter had been alien in culture or purpose, which it was not. It is designated foreign-born and rightly so because the men and women whom it includes were not born in the United States, but only 72,000 or thereabouts first saw the light outside of the British

domain. This is less than 1.8% of the whole population. The balance of the foreign-born minority so called was made up of Irish (370,000) and other British (350,000). These latter had caught the gait of the Yankee. They carried the flag and kept step "to the music of the Union." While many of them, as we have seen, were bred in poverty, they had survived severe if not cruel knocks and had hardened their muscles and sharpened their brains through the medium of adversity. They were for the most part ready to accept American leadership, and could have been made an asset by a people that were not blinded by an unholy thirst for acquisitiveness.

No apology therefore can be made for the native New Englander who muddled his own affairs in 1880 and shortly thereafter on the ground of foreign prejudice, or influence of the foreign element.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW IMMIGRATION

HISTORY is full of instances in which invading armies have moved so swiftly that the record shows them to have been in full military occupation of the penetrated country in an exceedingly short space after crossing the border. It is now to be noted that the industrial occupation of New England was hardly begun by aliens from the Eastern hemisphere before it was accomplished.

Heretofore historians have given much attention to military operations conducted on a grand scale as marking political eras. It is not improbable that in doing this they have slighted the political significance of great industrial movements which have affected large aggregations of people. However this may be there is no reason why political revolution or evolution should not result from industrial as well as military causes, and it is undoubtedly true that no military incursion could have more profoundly affected the political future of the Puritan Commonwealths than the advent of European labor.

I have selected the year 1880 as a convenient date for marking the foreign invasion of New England. As a matter of fact the immediate forces already alluded to which explain this cataclysm originated shortly after the panic of '75, and the real advance of the alien legions did not get enough underway to suggest the hosts which they forecast until 1890. Before 1880, besides the British element already referred to there were in out-of-the-way corners of New England, like Nantucket and New Bedford, little groups of picturesque foreigners. Because Herman Melville's *Mobey Dick* is much more than fiction, it should be read by those who desire an inlook at the strange conglomeration of folk which the whaling ports called together. Meanwhile the Government Returns for the whole country inclusive of the New England states indicate 1880 as the year which developed activities that were later to transfer a large part of the population in Continental Europe to America. It is therefore an excellent point of departure. While the alien arrivals in the United States for that and following years did not directly affect New England, which continued to use English and Irish labor, they may be compared to the headwaters of a flood which once underway drags after it the stagnant or mobile depths of some great reservoir. Inasmuch as this overflow later drowned New England the returns should be stud-

ied not only as providing a background for incidents that later stand out with striking clearness, but as the approximate cause of marvellous changes in the Northeastern States.

Giving attention then first to the whole number of immigrants coming into the country without regard to nationality, we find that—in 1880, 457,000 foreigners entered the United States. This is one hundred thousand more than double the number of those who came in 1879—a surprising resurgence from the low records that marked the foregoing years of depression. By 1882 the newcomers numbered 788,000—again an astonishing increase, which was not duplicated until 1903 when the ocean fleets brought 857,000 souls to try out their fortunes on an hospitable soil. That is a large number, but not so startling as is the return for 1907, which saw immigration at its height and added 1,285,000 foreigners to the population of the United States.

Interesting and significant as these figures are they require analytical consideration. Who are these people, checked off like so many pieces of merchandise? What was the early environment—political, social and economic—of each? Of what race or races were they? An answer to the last query ought to comprehend all that the informed reader needs to know. I am therefore confining myself to a presentation of data which has to do with immigrant nationality. With

this given it will be easy for any one, who desires further information, to dig out the facts required.

General immigration to the United States was at its height in 1882, the year in which the British and Scandinavian returns reached their high marks. After this date there is a distinct falling-off in the entries from the North of Europe, although the tide fluctuates with the ebb and flow of the general movement.

Italian immigration in 1879 was 5,791—the largest up to that date. It provided the occasional organ-grinder to delight the American small boy. In 1880 it had more than doubled. In 1882 it was 32,160—nearly six times the return of 1879. After this Italian immigration remained at high water mark until 1887 when 47,622 Italians came into the country, pushing beyond all lines set for ordinary tides and pioneering an annual inflow which for the most part was far in excess of the latter figures. In the year 1900 there were 100,135 Italian immigrants. This particular movement reached top level in 1914 when 283,738 passed through our ports.

Immigration from Austria-Hungary in 1879 was 5,963. In 1880 it was nearly three times this number—17,267. In 1884 it was 36,571—six times the return of 1879. Thereafter with various fluctuations it increased until 1900 when the return was 114,847. The people from this part of

Europe scored their largest return in the year 1907, when 338,452 arrived.

Russian immigration to the United States was slow in getting underway. In 1879, 4,942 Russians entered the country. In 1881 there were more than double the number—10,655. In 1887 the inrush from the Czar's domain was assuming proportions—30,766 reaching our ports. In 1892 there were 81,500. In 1902 Russia crossed the 100,000 mark by sending 107,347 souls. The largest return made by the Muscovites appears to have been 258,943. This again was in 1907.

It might be of service here to tabulate the number entering the United States from other countries in Europe and the East than those above referred to, in years subsequent to 1880, but I shall not yield to the temptation lest I lose my reader by suffocating him with an overplus of figures. This I shall not want to do until I have had an opportunity to lay before him conditions in New England which I have stated were soon to be directly affected by this inrush of newcomers.

It will be remembered that the manner in which the Indian mastered nature, and the colonists mastered the Indian was touched upon in earlier pages. We are shortly to see how the foreigner dispossessed the New Englander. The Indian prior to the colonial period possessed himself of the fertile river valleys which bordered Long Island Sound and the estuaries and gulfs

through which the Atlantic Ocean reaches the shores of lower New England. Such of these sections as he was inclined to use for his meagre crops of corn he burned over. This accounts for the beautiful intervales which the pioneer found hidden away like gems in the great forests. Some times the fire got away from him and swept through great tracts of forest, leaving such regions as Bare Hill in Worcester County, Massachusetts, to chronicle his misadventures. Other portions were reserved for hunting grounds, and were visited not only by local tribes but entered by important Mohawk hunting parties.

How long the Indian had been in residence when the first Englishman arrived is uncertain. There is no chronology. This we know—that he bitterly resented the endeavor of the colonist to oust him from a terrain that perfectly suited his purpose. In the South the Pequots warred for the Sound country. In the East, indeed all through the cleared and domesticated part of New England Philip the Wampanoag with his Narragansett and other Abenaki allies struck fiercely in the vain hope of obliterating the hated invaders. In the North the Penacooks and the remnants of tribes decimated by earlier hostilities turned back with a snarl upon their implacable enemy. It was all to no purpose. As the savage sullenly retired from the lovely meadow reaches of the shore and up the valleys of streams now become centers of indus-

try, the invading colonist followed and organized victory by settling on the field of battle.

Here the immigrant of the eighties found him, entertaining, as we have seen, a good many Irish and British folk, who were homogeneous in stock or language if still politically unsophisticated, but quite the master of the domain he had occupied. Little could the newcomer have suspected that he was soon to dispossess the vigorous race that had brought him in for its own purposes. Intent only on a job, conscious that he was entirely ignored in all matters that had to do with the civic or social life of his employer, he set to work as a Helot in the ditches of the big sea ports or heeded the call of the capitalist to come into the interior. Obsessed with near problems, and phlegmatic; driven at first by a need for shelter and food, he could not have sensed the romance coloring his surroundings, or realized that the men who filled his pay envelope were providing a wonderful future for him. How could these immigrants who crowded the "flats" and smoking cars of the "New Haven" and Boston and Maine railroad systems know that they were being transported over routes that the riflemen and colony troops had pierced with much effort and loss of life to the strategic centers of manufacturing activity, and therefore in these industrial days to the centers of political influence? "Wops" and "Dagos," they were contemptuously called. Many of them had never seen the magi-

cians whose mandates caused them to be herded and distributed as so many cattle. A rough boss was the medium of communication—a curt word or an oath the method of conveying a message. As immigrants they had heard the word "America" used as a synonym of Freedom, but there was no one to tell them of the extraordinary power given unlettered majorities by American institutions. They might be fools and clumps of sod, as their foremen intimated they were, but even the dullest of them did not imagine that any one could be as plain foolish or undiscerning as the Yankee industrialist of New England's critical period had been. No! Far from there being any one to suggest to the immigrant that he was some day to come into his own, he must have been as far from realizing this as was the Yankee who set him on his way. A word now as to the latter, and the points of concentration from which the immigrant pushed his invasion into Yankeeland.

In 1880 the Yankee, a world figure, was obsessed by a greed for gold, trade, commerce; the tangible evidences of material prosperity. Great in concentrating, he had learned to go out and get what he wanted. In doing this the very swing toward materialism had blinded his soul sense. He was like a keen hunting dog on a hot scent. The latter sees nothing, heeds nothing, but his quarry. Command, solicitation, self-interest offer

no distraction. For the moment he is sold to one object, the early possession of that for which he is straining every muscle and tensing every nerve. We think of the peasant immigrant as quite naturally heedless of the great prize he was to win. I am quite sure that the New England leaders who created a roseate future for these strange peoples were even more lacking in imagination. A trader whose soul sense is atrophied by materialism can see less than the idealist who has visions.

Now as to the ports of approach to Yankeeland. Some years ago a writer claiming to be an expert pointed out in the pages of a popular magazine the plan of campaign which a military genius would follow in order to bring the United States under control. An initial movement would be the occupation of New York City. The essayist claimed that with this and the Hudson Valley in hand New England would be secured without a struggle. A rich prize dropping into the hands of the foeman as readily as a ripe apple falls into the hands of the avaricious youngster who shakes the tree.

Whatever faults soldiers may have found with the aforesaid treatise as a military document, there is no question but that the author was right in laying stress upon the way in which New England has become a dependent of New York. Indeed, if he had chosen to write upon things which were actually happening, and had treated

upon industrial rather than military developments, he could have shown with little fear of being contradicted that with the Europeanizing of New York City conditions in New England had been substantially modified.

In dealing with the movement of the foreigner into the Northeastern states of the country, therefore, the reader must bear in mind that New York, the great entry port of the United States, is directly upon their border, and that it has been and continues to be a center in which unemployed aliens foregather. This was in 1880 and this remains today a matter of great consequence. Here considerable aggregations of Continental Europeans had gathered long before New England changed her racial aspect. Here a certain class of bankers and brokers dealt in flesh and blood in a manner which would have shamed the slave markets of New Orleans. Here were steamship agents in touch with all the great centers of Europe, and greedy for the commissions which directly or indirectly reached their pockets in times when New England mills were in need of operatives. Here were confidence men ready for a trifle to divert western-bound peasants from the destination which they sought, and to direct them to nearby cities and towns. Here were hostelries; shelter for the immigrant until his labor was in demand. And here were padrones known to constitute a class in the community who were ready at all times

to label and consign or to lead in person whatever number of foreigners might be needed to the industrial districts. These are to be noticed later!

One can hardly understand the rapidity with which New England fell into the hands of the invader unless he carries New York City in mind with the mighty representations which it contains of every racial stock.

In New England's own territory there is Boston, familiar for its adventures on the high seas, Providence, Portland and other less important ports. These are dominated by New York in many ways. In matters touching immigration they were in 1880–1890, as they continue to be today, mere by-stations for the receipt of such surplus floods as the Metropolitan center could not care for advantageously.

CHAPTER XII

COLONIZATION

WITH New York and the entry ports of New England, to which it is tied by rail as a base, and with Canada sending reinforcements over the border, the immigrants of the decade 1880 to 1890 swiftly distributed themselves through the coastline cities and towns. In ten years after the industrial labor movement of 1880 started, these latter-day adventurers had not only occupied the lowlands of their new home, but had ventured further toward the mountains of the interior than the line reached by the Puritan in one hundred and fifty years.

A military advance or the push forward of the pioneer meets with resistance. These newcomers were helped, not hindered in their efforts to reach their objective. Municipalities and mill owners wanted their labor, and promptly met every difficulty that threatened discouragement. Reinforcements summoned by letters, frequently inspired, reached them from Europe, and put them unwitting as they were, in a position to consolidate

their achievements. Thus—living on the land, using its system of transportation, its telegraph and post lines, and taking advantage of the facilities enjoyed by a highly civilized people,—they quickly and quite without premeditation dug in along a strategic line which is perfectly defined by comparing certain reports of the United States Government officials who prepared the Eleventh Census.

Using these returns at present for the single purpose of defining the foreign advance and assuming that the resident stock of foreign lineage will be found in or near the communities colonized by their immigrant forebears, we find that far more than half of the foreign-born stock of New England in 1890 was located in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and practically all of it within seventy-five miles of the coast line of New England.

There they are—toiling along in the path of the Puritan and Indian, just as men always have and always will follow a blazed trail if the latter is determined by economic, military or topographical conditions. It is only the other day that the armies of the United States were pushing through routes in Europe that the armies of Napoleon, Marlborough and Julius Cæsar had successively followed. In the days when California and Oregon were opening, did not caravan after caravan leaving the same point of departure—it might be

Santa Fe, it might be Omaha—strike for the rugged passes of the Rockies and Sierras across well-worn wagon trails? The overruling force which drives or pulls humanity uses definite channels as naturally as the spring torrents or the slowly moving glacier. So in the opening of the last decade of the Nineteenth Century the movement which was to overwhelm or sweep along in its current the so-called Anglo-Saxon, starting from brimming reservoirs in New York, Boston, Providence, Portland and Canada found its way into the environs of the great coast cities, and mightily favored by steam and organization penetrated Lawrence, Nashua, Manchester and industrial Maine.

Let us examine its character. For the most part it is made up of Irish and French-Canadians, both of which strains had already gotten the feel of the country. The French had been among the first North Americans. Although aliens in race and religion, they were used to the wide expanses of the great Continent, which had welcomed the Englishman. They were thrifty, industrious, good people, but not Yankees. The Irishman, who as compared to the descendants of the voyageur and resident was but a recent arrival under the metallic glitter and brilliance of the skies which arched New England, felt himself to be a veteran pioneer when compared to the strange peoples who were literally stepping on the "tail of his coat."

Mayhap his grandfather had come over in the forties or even earlier. Perhaps his father was one of the great tide which reached America in the seventies. If not, though he were as green to unfamiliar conditions as the Emerald Isle itself, he had relatives here—an uncle on the Broadway squad—a cousin, once a poor boy in Cork, now a rich contractor, or a New York section boss—perhaps a sister in service. He had opened his lungs and drunk deeply of free air, and he talked English. This gave him an advantage over the French-Canadians. As compared with the Continental European it placed him in the aristocracy.

Among the foreign-born reckoned as resident in New England in 1890 there were multitudes of these people thus swiftly characterized, and many were still arriving in the crowded British steamers or from the Provinces to the North, but this is to be marked—the mass of them had been in the United States long enough to get inoculated with the "looking for something better" spirit of the Yankee. If they were not acquisitive, a faculty which repeatedly stings the high spirited to new adventure, they were impatient of obscurity and the suggestion of subservience. They were lustful for better clothes, better homes, property and perhaps power. Already their vanguard were following the example of the Yankee mill women who had long since left the looms to

follow a hundred vocations. Those of the Irish who had been handling a shovel and pick in connection with public works were getting through the trenches and out into the open. Those in the factories like the earlier French-Canadians were dissatisfied. In a few years they were to entirely desert the shanty towns and the tenements which had sheltered them and give over their short-time homes to more recent arrivals. These latter newcomers from the Continent require a special study because of the vast consequences that have followed their appearance.

The Yankee did not like the Britisher whom he fought in 1776 and 1812. He made fun of the Teuton whom he curiously enough designated as a Dutchman. The French-Canadians and the Irish were distasteful to him because of their religious convictions, but he persisted in beckoning to across-seas kin of these people, and in 1880 still held the whip-hand over surprising numbers of them.

The inrush from Continental Europe is another matter! Whether because there was lack in racial affinity and in language between the New Englander and the multitudes which were soon to point his way, whether because of the vast number of these people, or whether because his own strain, having lost its morale and vision, was too weak to provide constructive legislation, he was to find it utterly impossible to grapple with this human

sponge which was to play a large part in wiping him off the face of contemporary history.

As a consequence it ought to be a matter of interest both to the philosopher and the political scientist who gathers information in regard to the rise and decline of peoples, to familiarize himself with the facts which have to do with the "Continental" hegira. For the present we are to consider the beginnings of this movement. Few realize how modest these were. Dazed by figures which are constantly appearing in the public press, and stirred by the strange agglomerations of the Nations which we find in the mill towns, it is difficult for us to carry ourselves back to the years, (which many a reader will remember) when one seldom saw a Continental European in the American Northeast. It is only when we consult the Government statistics of 1890 that we realize how small an impression these alien races made upon New England until a date comparatively recent. The Eleventh Census indicates that hardly one-tenth of the foreign-born population of New England, (which it will be remembered was 451,822 at the time of its compilation), had come from other sections than the British Isles and Canada. Leaving out the French, because there is confusion in the enumeration of persons hailing from France and from French-Canada—omitting the Northern and Western Nations of Europe and the scattering of peoples who have drifted into

the country from less important states, we find that on this date, 1890, there were but 42,982 other foreign-born in all New England. Today Boston alone is supposed to have 45,000 Russians, excluding the inhabitants of what was formerly known as Russian-Poland.

Of these distinctive foreigners the great majority approximately 40,522 were located in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and but 2,420 in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. The North containing by far the greater territory, was still practically native.

Of the whole number—there were 2,725 Austrians, 11,795 Russians, 1,624 Hungarians, 16,829 Italians, 4,293 Portuguese, 88 Greeks, 458 Turks, and 5,170 Poles.

Americans who have not reached middle life will recall the curiosity with which the pioneers of the 1880–1890 alien movement toward New England were received. Europeans of Continental stock, Finns, and Portuguese from the Western Islands, had colonized on the Massachusetts Capes prior to this period without creating much comment. Few came in contact with them, and they were regarded by these as something apart, to be thought of as identified with the coastal granite quarries or the fisheries, not as an integral unit in the population. With the new decade individuals from these colonies commenced to drift into the industrial towns, keeping some sort of step with

Jews, Italians and Austro-Hungarians who were newly landed. One no longer had to go to Gloucester or New Bedford to see Latin or Slavish immigrants. The Italian organ-grinder or impresario—volatile, temperamental, and amazingly cheerful under what seemed to be adverse circumstances—compelled attention by the splash of color he brought with him. Here was a contribution to the drab New England life that was recognized as altogether agreeable. For a generation to come the bluestocking was to wrestle with this daring advocate of prismatic beauty, but the latter was as welcome as the sunlight to the masses.

The Puritan has been basely libelled as constitutionally unable to enjoy art, or appreciate the beautiful. It is an unpardonable mistake made by an age which advertised its stupidity by nailing the product of the jig-saw over charming colonial doorways and panels. The Puritan allowed John Milton and some of the elect to articulate what was in his soul, but for the most part starved his keen sense of beauty—as a penance. As well say that the Puritan's palate was not tickled by good food because of his frequent fasts, as to deny him an intelligent appreciation of color and form. Because of this it transpired that the Italian played to full audiences when he first struck the shores which had witnessed the self-abnegation of John Endicott and Thomas Hooker. New England cultural centers like the American

Athens, then the home of rare poets and publicists, had for many years sent delegations to Italy to report upon her treasures. Now Italy was to come to America, as Athens had aforetime gone to Rome—and it was good! Good to watch the man with a Tyrolene hat and scarlet sash. Good to speculate upon the wagon-load of new arrivals from Sicily with the brownfaced, black-eyed bambinos and picturesque bales of luggage. Good to watch the evolution of the fruitstand glorified by pyramids of orange and crimson spheres. Therefore the Italian was received with a certain perplexed delight. The canny ones who are forever wrecking human accomplishments might have sinister objects of their own in view, but neither these nor the multitude thought of the Mediterranean visitants as a political factor.

The Jew was a joke! The college tribute to Solomon Levi perfectly visualizes the part he played in the eventful eighties. Although Calvinistic pulpits frequently scored the Hebrew as the betrayer of his own Messiah, they stood in amaze at the crass vigor of a race that had produced Moses and the prophets. The Unitarian now regnant in many an ancient evangelical stronghold could hardly quarrel with the Jews' theology. To all Christians he was a paradox, one of a chosen people, yet besmirched historically. Meantime college boys who were later as bankers to try their wits against those of the Israelite

moneylender, found the old clothesman a genial necessity. Through the medium of his wizardry half worn suits that could be dispensed with were converted into usable cash. New York had long sported the three golden balls sign that fascinates the spendthrift. Now an occasional New England town came into possession of this convenience. Small beginnings, and far from troubling the average farmer or small townsman who knew nothing of the miniature ghettos or back alley sweat shops that were located in metropolitan cities. Only scholars were informed in regard to anti-Semitism in Europe. The number of Hebrews who had come into the East were as yet inconsequential. People laughed at the victims of the Jew's shrewd trading propensities, and rang everlasting changes upon the adeptness with which he garbed his unfortunate customers with clothes that were too large or too small. They could not or would not foresee the hour in which the whole community would be hypnotized into paying tribute to Jacob's subtle progeny. Meantime the Semitic elephant had gotten its trunk well into the Puritan stronghold and found no reason why he should not insinuate his body. Banking establishments, soon to be controlled by Hebrew wit, delighted to do the newcomer honor while they laughed at him in their sleeve. Dry goods emporiums welcomed Jewish cheap labor without realizing that the ultimate profits together with

their organizations were soon to pass into the hands of the proponent of new ideas. Even the University in Cambridge, which had once and again sounded an alarm bell to stir the New England spirit failed to find significance in an incursion of a culture inherently hostile to its own.

Does education so obsess the brain with other-world, other-interest matter, as to render its possessor inept and without resource in the face of near and intricate problems? It would seem so else some one in the erudite staff of scholars retained by Harvard at that time to guard New England traditions would have spoken vehemently enough to have secured a hearing. It was not so!

"My name is Solomon Levi," etc!—Loud rang the chorus in the "yard" or its near environs during the class days of this extraordinarily blind decade, 1880–1890. The old elms were still intact, old traditions unshaken and American youth dearly tied to New England by residence or ancestry and saturated with New England standards, frolicked without consciousness that both trees and standards were tumbling by boring from within. It is not strange that they did not understand what the flooding, unsupervised immigration was bringing about. It is passing strange that their elders were so blind.

In the large number, (11,000) immigrants resident in New England assigned to Russia in the Census of 1890, and in the lesser number desig-

nated as Austrians, there must have been many Poles. It will be remembered that the returns indicate but 5,000. This is far too small a number. Polanders, long before the great American emigration were known only as Austrians, Russians or Germans. Meantime if they had lost their national identity as citizens of Poland, they retained to a remarkable degree their racial pride and coherence, and shortly after their coming into New England showed a distinct preference to be known as Poles rather than as nationals of the country from which they had last emigrated. By 1890 there must have been between 5,000 and 10,000 of them in New England. While they had commenced to work into the mill towns of the industrial states on the Southern border of Massachusetts, they were perhaps attracting the most attention in the Connecticut Valley where the deserted farmhouse and broad reaches of bottom-land offered the peasant shelter and farming opportunities. Here they colonized and remained segregated—toiling in the tobacco fields through long hours and fairly squaring with New England traditions in the faculty they evinced for hard work. This was well enough and might have passed unnoticed to a degree if they had shown some regard for hygiene and sanitation. They did not do this either because they were too busy or too cramped in resources. As a result they had not been long in their new homes before the

neighbors found them out and made indignant but ineffective protest. Shocking! Five families crammed into the old Judge —— house, or thirty people rooming in the small but substantial cottage that had sheltered the scions of a sturdy and notable Yankee family. Thus ran the gossip, but nothing particular was done. The newcomers were diligent and had the heart to tackle problems that the old residents would not or could not. Tobacco proved a profitable crop, and the industrious European farmers profited by growing and marketing it. It followed that, soon after the Polish pioneers became established, money found its way into circulation in Connecticut River villages, which before were frankly decadent. Then came dickerings for homesteads which had been practically abandoned when the Pole arrived, and purchases of small fields; succeeded by sizeable transactions involving a whole farmstead. The Pole was odiously foreign and was bound to receive notice. Meantime he brought the countryside some of the prosperity which the manufacturing towns of New England had long enjoyed. Therefore the sort of complaint which goes with critical inspection ceased in inverse ratio to the drift of title deeds to Polish hands. The Pole was digging deep for his foundations as the French-Canadian and the Swede, the Finn and the Portuguese had dug before him. By the time the decade ended he was entrenched in the

valley counties and elsewhere in Massachusetts, and was taking title to considerable blocks of farm land. Hereafter he was to be in a position to take care of European relatives who were making the American adventure, or to act as message-bearer of American mill owners in search of cheap labor.

With this temporary diversion which has been made to mark the manner in which the East and South of Europe setting out, as it were, to appropriate New England, brought itself to the still drowsy consciousness of the commercialized Yankee—we can resume our study of the foreign movement into a sometime Puritan country.

It has already been remarked that Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont in 1890 were still distinctly American, and that such foreign elements as had entered these states were English-speaking or of the so-called Germanic stock. Both conclusions are confirmed by Government charts which were prepared by an acute statistician to exactly indicate the part that the alien was playing in each community. As these are exceedingly informing I am inserting them in this text.

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS TO EACH 100,000 NATIVE-BORN

	1870	*1880*	*1890*
Maine	8,456	9,979	13,564
New Hampshire	10,257	15,396	23,781
Vermont	16,639	14,059	15,291

One has only to glance at the compilation to see how entirely the native element dominated the North and by far the larger part of New England a generation ago. Meantime the tabulation carries another message which is pertinent to the immediate inquiry. Comparison of the returns for the dates 1870 and 1890 conclusively show that the additions made to the population of this section by newcomers during the whole period of twenty years between 1870 and 1890 was small, and that it was practically negligible between 1880 and 1890. This is the period during which the Russians, Italians and Austrians with other peoples of quite different culture from the race that fought the Civil War in America began to enter the United States.

Thus the three states above referred to added but a few thousand souls to each 100,000 of their population in a decade, and of these a large proportion entered New Hampshire where they are accounted for by the growing industries of the cities of Manchester and Nashua, which lie closely contiguous to the congested and commercial districts of Southern New England. Maine showed an increase of only 3,585 foreign-born per 100,000 natives—and Vermont but 1,232 foreign-born per 100,000 natives. As a matter of fact because of the outward drift of French-Canadians, Vermont had less alien stock within her limits in 1890 than in 1880. Inasmuch as immigration

from Great Britain and its Provinces continued to flow into the country and formed an appreciable part of the alien increase during the period now under discussion, it will readily be seen that the North of New England in 1890 must have been quite free of racial groups difficult of assimilation.

The Editor of the then current Census after a careful review of all available statistics submitted for his inspection, briefly disposes of matter which I have perhaps discussed with too much particularity. He says—"While of Huns, Poles, Russians, Italians and Bohemians—almost all who have reached this country have come in the last decade." That sweeping statement warrants the assertion that Northern New England in 1880 could not have contained more than a few and isolated Europeans who were not British subjects or from cognate peoples. The examination of the figures in the chart printed above prove that immigration of the decade prior to 1890 brought little change. The invader as I shall immediately show was proceeding true to form, and like the Indian and Puritan before him was lingering along the coast levels and river bottoms before pushing into the hills. Unbearably stupid these figures but how they talk when we give them an opportunity. Hidden away in ponderous official volumes which litter our lumber rooms, they are bursting with prophecy and philosophy. Take them at their value, compare them with other

symbols set down with the same ends in view, and they will frequently give a poet or a philosopher more raw material than he can ever fabricate. Of all European-born peoples dwelling in New Hampshire in 1890 less than 7.8% were of Greco-Latin stock. Of all European-born peoples dwelling in Vermont in the same year less than 5.8% were of Slavic stock. Maine reported in 1890 that of her foreign-born population only 6.2% were Slavs and 1.04% Greco-Italian. The Yankee was still King in the whole of the North country and the great bulk of the immigrants who had reached the Kennebec or the upper Connecticut and Merrimac were men and women of similar speech and traditions.

Conditions were quite different in Southern New England at the opening of the last decade in the Nineteenth Century. Here the vanguard of the extraordinary host that is now in form to control the destinies of this lovely terrain was throwing out skirmishing parties, reconnoitring new fields, insinuating its advance contingents into busy ports and quiet hamlets as if by direction of some supermind.

Extraordinary the manner in which humanity follows the method of primal forces in its movements, or, shall I dare the thought, the way in which blind nature conforms to the fashions followed by man. Note the tempest dominating the wind, the rain, and electric activities, and

tumbling over forests that are not deeply rooted; or moulding the contour of decaying hillsides. The strong bites into the weak, and carves it to suit its own taste! Watch the push in of the tide and its handling of a beach that is not buttressed and compact. Here is a chance, perhaps, under a genial sun to intimately acquaint oneself with the manœuvring of Might. Outside there are cresting seas, nearer the shore the breakers, uproarious cuirassiers, and then the rippling wavelets that flatten out on the sandy beach, mantle it, and withdraw, dragging millions of sandy particles after them. We can see the process. It is startlingly like the manner in which positive personalities or strong primitive desires that need checking play havoc with a weak man; and amazingly similar to the way in which peoples or combinations of peoples by war, emigration or trade possess themselves of the belongings and the souls of humans that are not watchful and all alive with energy.

Can any alert mind dodge the conclusions that this striking resemblance between the movement of the so-called material and so-called spiritual forces, is something more than parallelism? Confessedly I cannot. To my mind one dominant law controls the operations of nature and the activities of man. You perhaps find this to be akin to what scholars call Matter. I find it to be akin to what the religionists call God. Should

you sniff at my credulity and say that man's submission to the Law that explains or determines all merely physical phenomena proves him to be Matter, I shall respond that Nature's obedience to the Law that is throned in the spiritual world proves that it is under the sceptre of primal intelligence.

Believing as I do, and believing also that man who is no blind clod but is as conscious of what is happening to him and the material things about him, as he is able and free to determine his future, I marvel that his appetite for self-indulgence makes him so unutterably stupid. Moreover I cannot refrain from expressing my wonderment—which is curiously mixed with faith in humanity's final triumph, or I should not put my thought on paper.

History which is a record of fact is I assume as useful a monitor to a sentient race as is the observation of natural forces in operation. Therefore I am gathering facts which I believe to be veracious, and chronicling incidents that might otherwise pass unnoticed, in the hope that the people of New England in the Twentieth Century may profit. A mongrel group today, it is conscious of the consequences of its ill-judged acts. With its attention called to the analogies between the overturning of a Puritan Commonwealth once weakened by self-indulgence, and the guttering of a whole countryside that lacks grit and toughness

by the tempest or the sea, it may seek hereafter to be conformable to indestructible adamant. It may fight to retain the things that it knows to be worth while. It may respond to the dramatic appeal which the shaper of matter and the architect of man makes to its intelligence and its eye.

I took occasion in earlier pages to call attention to the manner in which the Primal Power appeared to manifest itself in preparing New England for the high-minded and all-daring people who were to colonize it, and inspiring this people as long as it remained right-minded. If the crude philosophy which I have ventured upon in late paragraphs shall lead the reader to get my point of view, he will be startled as I am startled by the evidence of matter here collated. Carefully reviewed this flashes a sense of Infinity, controlling, guiding, directing the immigrant invasion of New England, as it once dictated the movements of Puritan and Pilgrim.

To be sure a terrible difference suggests itself between the relations of creative power to a people who recognized its overlordship and myrmidons of immigrants impelled by various motives. Meantime whether there be ground for this fancy or not, it is a dull mind that is not awed by the unerring good sense and accuracy with which the alien multitudes of the eighties and nineties disposed of themselves after entering New England. Separated by a thousand prejudices, a very babel of

different tongues which made intercommunication impossible, they yet managed to occupy every strategic point needed for their own purposes and for the purposes of the hosts that were to follow them. Finiteness would have led a Napoleon or a Foch to blunder repeatedly under such circumstances. There was no blunder here!

Bearing in mind how indifferent was the impression made by the foreigner in Northern New England by 1890, let us now examine conditions at the same period in the industrial states of New England which by their location, population and wealth command the destiny of the whole section. Sufficient figures have already been given to satisfy the requirements of such suggested analogies as have been offered. Here were the entry ports, the cities, and the great manufacturing centers, and here the invading immigrant hastened to establish himself. It is officially reported that in 1890 the urban population of the Atlantic States contained 49.31% of the urban population of the United States. While this territory includes New York and Philadelphia, it will be recognized that the cities of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut must have contributed largely to the figure which makes this astonishing statement possible. It is also reported by the same authorities that 51.81% of the urban population of the North Atlantic States in 1890 was in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more, and that while the total popu-

lation increased but 19.95% between 1880 and 1890 the urban element increased 44.15%.

If veracious, these returns illuminate—first, by verifying conclusions already offered as to the insignificant changes in the foreign-born population which occurred during the decade referred to in northern New England which contained but few cities of 8,000, and—second, by illustrating the manner in which the invading industrial armies struck for the centers of influence and power.

Proceeding now in an orderly manner let us inform ourselves with some particularity as to the actual territory occupied. Rhode Island is too small to require much study. It is referred to elsewhere. For present purposes of this study it may be divided into two parts—one contains Providence, and the busy towns of the Blackstone and Pawtuxet Valleys—the other, the low and available marshlands and countryside. A war captain or an industrial chief would not overlook the first part of Rhode Island thus designated in arranging for the permanent control of New England. Neither did the immigrant. 1890 found him playing a large part in the city and in the valley communities for which the indomitable Roger Williams had labored with a self-abnegation which the inheritors of his trust must characterize as lunacy. Reference to the great patriarch who gave Rhode Island his all—who saved Massachusetts from extinction by the

tomahawk and torch, and rendered equal services to the less mature colonies to the West, leads to a consideration of the colonial grants occupied by his contemporaries and friends. The smaller of these, Connecticut, is divided into eight counties. Four of these are carved from the coast country which borders the tranquil waters of Long Island Sound, or the lovely regions that are watered by the Connecticut, the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers. Four are elevated, either sloping away to the foothills of the Green Mountains or lifting into elongated plateaux which are not adapted to the support of any considerable community. I need not say that these latter were neglected by the alien. The other four were not. The immigrant's sense of selection has been more acute than that of any military leader. Surpassing geniuses like Alexander, Cæsar, Frederic, and other chiefs with different ends in view have thrust their forces here and there effectually, with much insight. None of them, however, but has made a mistake; sought for that he could not secure, like Napoleon in Egypt and Russia, or Alva in the Netherlands. Here is a mobile host, which under the direction of an unseen leader steps into every required terraine as the water of a freshet fills every nook and crevice of the acre which it traverses, and never withdraws.

In 1890 this army numbered 57,000 souls in New Haven County, the scene of the great

Davenport's labors. It took the latter's contemporaries years upon years of militant struggle to secure themselves in this desirable country. The immigrant found it richly improved and undefended.

In the same year the foreign-born alone in Hartford, Fairfield and New London counties numbered 89,000, a matter which would have caught the attention of the colonial chronicler but which passed without comment at the time when these figures were collated. This section knew Hooker, to whom the world is a debtor, the younger Winslow, and some of the most vigorous leaders of the English exodus across seas. The four counties contained together 146,000 foreign-born persons ten years before the last Century came to a close. The less important counties of Tolland, Windham, Middlesex and Litchfield had at that time but 36,000 persons who were not of native birth. While the alien population of this hilly district nearly equaled the alien population of Vermont, it is less than one-quarter of the number which had located in the counties which dominate Connecticut. The comparison is made for the purpose of indicating the nicety and accuracy with which the alien began to make his dispositions at a time when his people were still in a minority.

This brings us to Massachusetts in our endeavor to make plain the unconscious but marvellous manœuvring of the so-called newcomers.

> Massachusetts—God forgive her—
> She's akneelin' with the rest.—

Kneeling to Mammon, and oblivious of the mission consigned to her by men of penetrating mind and powerful purpose.

In 1890 Massachusetts contained 657,000 foreign-born persons in the thickly settled but limited area. 601,000 of these were in the seven industrial counties, all of which, with the exception of Hampden, are within the fifty miles circuit of the environs of Boston. Hampden County caught the attention of John Pynchon and the organizers of the Massachusetts Colony before they were well located ashore, and was settled because of its extraordinary promise. Naturally it would not be overlooked by the immigrant. The Census of 1890 allotted but 55,000 foreigners to the remaining seven counties which are barren or mountainous and less attractive to an invader.

From Boston in its beginning—the Boston of Winthrop and many a high soul—had gone the impulse that had made New England a mighty influence for good. Into this same Boston, long the temporary rendezvous of strangers, a flood of immigrant tide is pouring at the opening of the 1890's. Some come direct by ocean liners, exclaiming at the beauty of the island-dotted harbor, the gold dome of the State House, and the

bright sunshine which makes the buildings glitter and beckon. Some come by way of the great Metropolis which is receiving nine-tenths of all immigrants to America, travelling by trains which make quick connections between the two cities, or by Sound steamers where they are herded at this time like cattle. A large proportion of the Massachusetts immigrants will find employment in the city proper or in one of the numerous communities which cluster so closely about the Capital as to appear part and parcel of it. The others will go direct to the nearby mill towns. Everything in Massachusetts because of the railroad service and negligible distances is nearby.

It is well at this juncture for the reader to take note of the part Boston is playing in this drama of dramas. Heretofore it has lost its native characteristic because of the great influx of Irish who are in active control of its municipal housekeeping. It is shortly to become the headquarters of great aggregations of Jews, Italians, and other racial groups—ignorant of its traditions, and disposed to colonize. While it is and will remain the center in which the representatives of the people of Massachusetts meet to legislate for the good of the community, its so-called solid men are apparently finding no occasion to ask these for such commissions of inquiry as will enable the Commonwealth to safeguard its political future. Absorbed in the contemplation of profits, annoyed

y sociological experiments in legislation which ıt into their revenues, and indisposed to meddle ith public questions, they resemble a lot of sheep ıarked for slaughter—not the bleating rabble hich follows a leader into some danger zone, but ıe foot-tied victims who patiently await an nhappy fate. The preceding generation had ıken an eminent part in the War for the Union, nd engineered the building of the Trans-continenal railway systems besides giving splendid imulse to the construction of great cities like Omaha, Kansas City and Denver which are to play a large art in the development of the West. These men nd their New England contemporaries of influence nd wealth have watched the growing threat of the New York Central and West Shore Railroads and he provincializing of New England by outside combinations of capital. It is not likely that ndustrialists who are lax in matters which affect heir markets will be over astute in caring for their political future.

I have taken pains to show where the foreignborn population of the three industrial states of New England were colonized in 1890 in order that I may in a broad way locate the continental contingent of this rapidly increasing multitude. I shall now ask the reader to examine a few returns of the eleventh Federal Census which has particularly to do with the racial groups.

These indicate that 3.45% of the foreign-born

population in Massachusetts was Scandinavian—4.74% German—1.77% Slav—2.25% Greco-Latin;

that 3.60% of the foreign-born population in Rhode Island was Scandinavian—3.48% German—.84% Slav—3.57% Greco-Latin;

that 6.55% of the foreign-born population in Connecticut was Scandinavian—16.69% German—.078% Slav—4.15% Greco-Latin.

With such exceptions as have been noted in the matter of the Finnish, Portuguese and Polish farmers, all of the above people were living in the fringe of industrial cities and towns which follow the lower line of the New England coast—or in the manufacturing centers along river valleys.

Before passing to a new stage of the great invasion it will be profitable to familiarize ourselves with conditions relevant to this inquiry—in the recently mentioned metropolis of New England, at this period. If properly visualized they will serve to provide us with a picture of any one of the busy communities which are closely bound to her financially and commercially. In 1890 Suffolk County, which is nearly identical with Boston, contained 4,000 Italians (there were nearly as many Italians in the city as lived elsewhere in the State), 4,000 Russians—964 Poles—188 Hungarians—403 Austrians. Besides these there were groups from other races.

Other returns are less instructive. I am there-

fore closing this Chapter with a very significant sentence which I have dug out of the compilations of one of the Statesmen Statisticians now so unfashionable. The Editor of the 1890 Census takes occasion to say in connection with one of the summaries that discuss the continental reinforcements then pressing forward to fill all gaps in the armies of the alien invader—

"The proportion of increase of the class of immigrants is very rapid, and should it continue at the present rate these elements will soon outnumber all others."

Watch it, you champions of the Anglo-Saxon—
Discredited guardians of old traditions!

PART IV
INVASION

CHAPTER XIII

THE PULL OF THE MILLS

WITH delightful frankness New Englanders have been charged in these pages with scuttling the craft which carried their promising fortunes. It is true that I have exculpated from all blame the vigorous men who laid the foundations of her ever-expanding industries which have been the medium of Yankee undoing. They were capable and daring besides being mentally alive. If it were given to men to wisely direct the happenings of two or three generations ahead, these talented individuals would have qualified. As it was although they could not or did not foresee developments, they showed an almost eery appreciation of the fact that industry could not move forward without having due regard to political and social conditions. Their reputations therefore must be tenderly handled, although there is no question but that they unwittingly gave the impulse to the movement which has brought wealth and the evil consequences which accompany wealth into New England.

Who then shall be charged with the responsibility of bringing disaster to the Yankee Commonwealths? Not the men who collated statistics which clearly set out the threat brought into their borders by the picturesque crowds of newcomers in the Fifties. Not the intelligent communities who pondered over their reports, although they delayed instant action that was logical. Not the people who after sacrificing their best manhood to the exigences of war, set out to reconstruct their fortunes. But, rather *to the generation which, elated with the return of prosperity, saw fit to unduly stimulate their good fortune by bringing foreign labor, or permitting foreign labor to be brought, into the country without providing suitable safeguards.*

The advocate who ignores the consideration of certain vital facts cannot make a convincing argument. The industrialist who in his search for wealth uses forces without carefully recognizing their potency, is wooing bankruptcy. The Yankee commercialist who used every art to encourage immigration to America, and to divert as much of the tide as practicable into New England, saw fit to ignore the thousand and one financial embarrassments which would later perplex him because of the presence of great masses of non-English speaking and dependent peoples. He also chose in a wholly ingenuous but unintelligent way to hazard his social and political future.

In this he erred mightily, and with him erred all New England,—school-teachers, preachers, professionals, and every man on the street who in that day was in a position to utter a protest and did not do so, and who was possessed of the ballot and did not use it to block unfortunate tendencies.

Having registered such a conclusion I am conscious that it is time for me to call the reader's attention to the sources from which evidence of such misdoing can be gleaned. I refer him to Federal and State compilations which tabulate the amount of capital invested in industrial enterprises in New England subsequent to the year 1880 and up to the World War period. These will show a great and increasing expenditure for the erection of mills and factories, for the installation of spindles and other marvellous machines, and for the employment of increasing multitudes of foreign-speaking labor. Even the slow-witted who examine these will not fail to notice that the outlay of gold and the inflow of immigrants increases in perfect proportion. Given a small expenditure of money for factories, spindles and operating machines and you have an unimpressive number of newcomers entering New England. Given an expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars with the erection of hundreds of industrial plants and you have an unstemable tide of immigrants.

Do not such figures make their own argument? Do they not say in effect—the men who have built these factories and installed these machines have either themselves called the foreigners who occupy the mills and operate the machines into the country, or have provided means to that end?

Whatever the reader's decision may be, I am not willing to dismiss this serious matter without an endeavor to visualize successive events which explain the misapplication of the power generated in New England in the days which followed the suppression of the great Rebellion.

To do this I shall ask the reader to take the case of any one of thirty or forty gentlemen with considerable industrial interest, of whom he has personal knowledge—let it be Richard Rowe! The period is any time between 1880 and 1890. Richard Rowe lives in a small Massachusetts valley town which is abundantly supplied with water power. Under the direction of a shrewd father Richard has become possessed of wisdom in matters which have to do with the manufacturing of a product that is in considerable demand. He is also the owner of a small factory built a generation before in which a hundred persons, for the most part Irish, Americans and French from over the Canadian border, are employed. His income is not large, but it is in considerable excess of that enjoyed by his fellow-citizens, a fact which has

given him a position of some dignity in the eyes of his fellow-townsmen. He is a dignitary of the church, and not only contributes through taxes to the support of the schools, but is a subscriber to all worthy charities.

Conditions lead Richard Rowe to take advantage of the new advertising which has found credit as a business stimulant. Publicity brings a marvellous response. A demand sets in for his goods from new and hitherto unthought-of fields. Any man possessed of Richard Rowe's faculties would find the prospect alluring. Richard finds it compelling. Facts and figures are collated. They prove convincingly that by the expenditure of a given amount of money which his resources or his credit can command he can double the size of his plant, increase the number of his employees, and turn out a very much greater product. Mobilized on paper this data fascinates. Apparently nothing but courage is needed. There is a beckoning reward, and best of all there are some arguments to show that the town itself will be benefited. Certainly the grocer, the meatmarket man, and the banker, if the town possesses a fiscal institution, will receive a direct return. Consequently Richard Rowe decides to make the improvements. Inside him the old Yankee-Puritan motor is driving hard. He has brain, grip and daring. He is impatient of mediocrity or of limited service. He feels a lilt toward big things, so factories are

erected by nearby artisans; machines ordered from grateful correspondents, arrive and are put in place, and the question of labor is given attention. The few unemployed workingmen in neighboring towns are immediately retained. Existing publicity media are used with effect, and artisans and factory-hands who have had various experience commence to drift toward the center in which he is operating. With their arrival new questions develop which have to do with housing, sanitary conditions, and even with food supply.

Inasmuch as these grave matters cannot be adjusted without careful consideration it is time for Richard Rowe to stop, review conditions, provide for emergencies, and consolidate his resources. This is easier said than done. His publicity staff have advertised schemes for enlargement and improvement. Orders are pouring in. It is obvious that he can use more labor to advantage. Therefore he gets in touch with agencies in the Metropolis which claim to be able to dig up all the labor that the manufacturers may require. These people have no interest in him, in the foreign-speaking labor which they handle, nor in New England. To be brutally frank they are a mischievous lot with no standards whatever. It is exceedingly doubtful if Richard Rowe understands their character or the methods used in responding to his appeal. The period during which his plant develops is an unsophisticated one.

Surprising though it may seem to us today there has been little occasion to scrutinize the quality of labor. It is generally supposed that the newcomer from foreign shores would not be crossing the water at all if he or she were not strong, purposeful and altogether desirable. To a degree this continues to be a fact during the first days of experimental expansion. When the change comes it is subtle, insinuating and disguised.

Richard Rowe's attention is now given to merchandizing, elaboration of manufacturing details, and problems which increasing overhead charges have brought upon him. In the beginning he had met the embarrassments of employing foreign help by creating a staff of hastily selected overseers and sub-bosses, without dreaming that these men would enter into labor compacts with labor brokers, or exact a tribute from their subordinates. American business of that day was unacquainted with practices which to the European mind was usual and from a personal point of view altogether desirable, and Richard Rowe is a typical American business man. It follows therefore that an ugly system for the supply of increasingly ineffectual labor becomes installed. This is shortly to operate to the serious disadvantage of both the employer and his home town.

Apply now the experience of Richard Rowe to hundreds of thousands of manufacturers in New England who represent widely varying interests,

some small, some large. While the citing of exceptions may be possible, the reader will make no considerable mistake if he assumes that each of these, actuated by the same ambition which stirred in the soul of Richard Rowe, has also shared his experiences. These men scattered all through Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and lower New Hampshire, commenced to transform their towns by erecting mills of every size and character, in eligible places. This done, they get in touch with the labor broker, or labor brokers, to whom Richard Rowe had had recourse, with their various demands. It is the broker's opportunity and he is not one who ever neglects such a windfall. Just as the mills make new connections as they expand—so labor brokers in New York and Boston make new connections with foreign bankers, with corrupt steamship agents, with banking and brokerage institutions across seas. Then working together these individuals and organizations (all foreign), mobilize the westward looking, liberty-loving subjects of Continental kingdoms, as an industrial host. This done, their armies of labor are transported from points of embarkation and re-concentrated in New England. The first procedure is simple and unattended with difficulty, but so great is the demand that the supply slackens. This explains the entry of the foreign runner or agent.

It is doubtful if the United States which has

staged the meanest as well as the finest type of humanity, ever permitted another character so abandoned as this low-grade steamship agent to strut upon the boards. Pirates, slave-chasers, thugs and gamblers, with the utterly criminal, have played their part within and without the country, but from Latrobe's pirates in line behind Andy Jackson's cotton bales at New Orleans to the late lamented James brothers of dime novel fame, all have done heroics in their time. If the steamship runner has his apologist I am ignorant of the fact. I think of him as I have had him portrayed to me as altogether without conscience, pity or respect for God or man. Masquerading under various titles he burrows in the congested districts of the metropolis and its purlieus, insinuates himself into the foreign colonies and labor camps, crosses the seas and combs Europe and Syria to secure his prey. With the broadening of industry in New England and other manufacturing and mining districts in America, these hateful speculators in humanity scented blood, and applying experience,—secured during the period of normal immigration,—elaborated the machinery which has brought to America that part of the Old World's population which is discontented, volatile and ne'er-do-well by nature, or that has been crippled by calamity or sickness.

Returning now to industrial New England at

the close of the last Century and the beginning of the new. The opening of the period finds hundreds of the Richard Rowe type of manufacturer becoming conscious of human limitations. Each in his place was quite equal to the problems inherited from his father, but each is embarrassed by the multiplication of duties which his own ambitions and his own adventures in commerce have brought to him. To escape such duties and maintain the activities which are swelling revenues, each in his own way has recourse to the sort of organization that is soulless. These—hire superintendents and managers, create new departments, and distribute their burdens among understudies, but keep by the tiller. Those—dismayed by threatening eventualities, or because they recognize their own inability to cope with the activities they have invited, dispose of their properties to less sensitive souls. Most of them incorporate and lose personal identity with the business they have nourished. Thus some in one way, some in another, withdraw from the intimate connection with the particular industry which in its beginning had been watched over with all the pride which a parent shows in its progeny. "Big Business" succeeds! "Big Business" which is not troubled with regard for local traditions whether they be social or civic. "Big Business" which is unfettered by the nicer moralities. "Big Business" which is guided by a generalizer too

much occupied with large commercial questions to give passing attention to minor questions which affect the neighborhood, and which is managed by specialists who know nothing outside of their own limited sphere of action.

I agree that this sort of organization makes for returns, for a time; that it seems to be economically necessary where there is competition and the piling-up of wealth is the object of life. On the other hand I know that it has never co-existed with real democracy and community happiness and I suspect that it never will because it has a wrong objective and must ultimately collide with the plans of the Infinite. However that may be I am sure that the reader will be quick to appreciate how disastrous the new organization of industry was for the sometime patriotic masters of New England and their following. In the twinkling of an eye all such leadership was eliminated or choked into submission by corporate machinery. The following was snuffed out. It mattered little now whether some Richard Rowe, located in Connecticut or Southern New Hampshire, notes with regret that the village which his forebears created, beautiful in its day, is no longer recognizable. Compelling forces have been loosed; nothing can withstand their impact. "Soulless organization" clutters the meadows with ugly factories and lines the old by-paths with hideously symmetrical and forbidding dwellings. "Soulless

organization" persuades homely and homeloving people to substitute speculation for the comfortable rewards of plain personal thrift, and take stock in some one of the Richard Rowe enterprises. "Soulless organization" retains inventive minds, possesses itself of wonder-working machinery, harnesses the rivers, controls the elements, and switches into gear with the labor providing installations of the great American ports.

We have seen how these burdens of mischief came into being with the expansion of pioneer and honest labor emigration from the Continent of Europe. We have also become acquainted with the steamship agent. To big business, dependent upon labor and altogether unmindful of political responsibilities, the facilities and services provided by such agencies and indiscriminating public servants were altogether good. Pounced upon with the same disregard of danger that characterizes the curio hunter who finds a dub on the battlefield, they ultimately developed into a similar embarrassment. Meantime given carte blanche to secure the workers who are to man the mills of New England, these odious purveyors of trouble centered into unholy alliance, solidified their lines, and opened up new zones for exploitation. Hither and thither through Eastern Europe flitted the steamship agents, now become an important link in an endless chain of profitable enterprise. Ministers of state in decadent coun-

tries are advised that there is a New England market for the felons in their jails and coöperate; perhaps for a consideration.

Calabria and Sicily are drag-netted. Poland and the Bothnian provinces are explored. Eastern Austria, Transylvania, Little Russia and the Balkans are carefully sifted and advance agents are sent into lower Russia, Greece, Turkey-in-Europe, and Syria. Here and there central stations are located in Southeastern Europe and Asia. These emit propaganda and control recruiting. Sometimes they serve as rest depots for the temporary convenience of the ever-growing throngs which are now moving toward America. Through and by them march armies of the unfit and infatuated, as well as armies of those who are strong and dependable. The latter feel the same urge that long since caused the peasant of Western Europe to embark for America. The former, frequently sick, mentally diseased, and without reason for the hope that is in them, have been tricked by misrepresentations and every devilish art known to the dealer in human souls.

Together with other industrial American commercial communities New England wants labor. Labor for its ditches and city improvements; labor to do the work of its towns; and above all labor to run its looms and supplement the tireless service of its not quite human machinery. Although it expresses itself in various languages, it is willing

to pay a high price for each mortal biped that is shoved into its gates. Frequently there are captains of industry, if we may believe well-authenticated testimony, who are brazen enough in their practices to pay much gold per head. These are little troubled by the enactment of restraining laws. The majority allow the labor agency to take its pay out of the meagre resources of its victims. Only the Almighty knows how to measure the crime wrought by these latter who have become traders in misery. The performance is a discreditable one to New England because it encourages downright villainy on the one hand and defies the laws of economics on the other. Aside from the political retribution which it will shortly bring about, it at once fills the Yankee alsmhouses and imposes upon the non-manufacturing as well as the manufacturing population an enormous burden of taxation for the incarceration of degenerates and the instruction of ignorant multitudes.

The whole matter of *stimulated immigration* has provided and will provide political economists with plenty of material for illustration. To us who are trying to understand the causes which underlie the decline of Yankee supremacy in New England it presents casual facts so closely knitted together as to offer a convincing argument. The advocate may cover much space, as I am laboriously doing, to show the connection between

the lust of the Puritan's progeny for commercial supremacy and the introduction of a foreign population into New England. To one acquainted with facts, however, the connection hardly needs elucidation. A vigorous tree in the village street has your attention. There is a sudden gathering of thunder clouds. A gleam of lightning—and the tree lies torn and shattered. The cause of the wreckage is evident. Many of my contemporaries have known New England as a thrifty Yankee community. Such are fully acquainted with the activities underlying the extension of the factories in this section, and have watched the inroad of the foreign levies which have come to man the machinery of the mills. The consequences of uncurbed industrialism lie all about them. They see Yankeedom smashed and in the possession of alien peoples. They would be fools if they did not know the causes that brought the change which to many is a grievous one. Unfortunately enough the younger generation of today, and the men and women who are to follow them, will never be able to visualize the marvellous experience which came to New England as it faced the opening of the twentieth century. For their use and to assist the future historian who finds some fascination in bygone happenings, I am drawing a picture of New England in 1900.

Along the coasts and particularly in the tiny states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and

Connecticut are located several hundred centers of manufacturing industry. Those that are cities contain in their municipal boundaries scores of factories, among which are the largest of their kind in the world. Just behind these industrial centers along the river valleys leading to the mountains of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine are two hundred or two hundred and fifty more such communities. These are more modest in their dimensions, but otherwise are replicas of the busy towns to which attention has already been called.

Altogether the mobilized factory groups of New England number in the neighborhood of seven hundred. The character of the goods fabricated are almost as various as the installed plants. Connecticut and Rhode Island manufacture brass goods of all sorts, clocks, silks, fabrics, woolen and cotton textiles, cutlery, hardware, fire-arms, ammunition, and various Yankee notions. Massachusetts is famous the world around for her machinery, and for her heavily capitalized ventures in the manufacture of textiles and boots and shoes. The Northern states add the production of lumber, but otherwise follow the lead of the states to the South.

To attempt in the year 1900 to catalogue the variety of the manufactured product might well have taxed the resources of a disciple of good old Samuel Johnson, the dictionary maker. The classification made by Census statisticians, omit-

ting as it did ventures that at the time had no standing but were later to assume prodigious importance, is sufficient for our use. It included staple things that the race—mind you not alone the Yankee stock—required to clothe its nakedness and shield it from the weather. It added a thousand and one ingenious contrivances of no particular use to any one, but marketable because of humanity's passion for gewgaws and baubles. Stock goods of every conceivable pattern were shipped out of New England to meet the wants of Americans living under all possible conditions, as well as the requirements of cultivated Europe. New England brogans shod the negro plantation hands of the South, ore-diggers of Minnesota, and the woodsmen toiling in the interminable forests of Oregon. New England shoes and slippers, fashioned to meet the needs of the elegant in Paris and Vienna as well as in New York and Chicago, were provided in an inexhaustible supply. Chains of Yankee stores appeared not only on the Continent of Europe but in the large municipalities of the United States. Soft blankets for the elderly and the rheumatic, exposed to severe winters; heavy and coarse blankets for the mountain-men and ranchers, were turned out in extravagant numbers. New England woolens, worsteds and cottons, woven, colored and finished in every describable pattern passed through the looms in endless profusion. The busy Yankee had con-

centrated upon clothing and decorating the needy and fanciful everywhere, and was accomplishing his purpose. The savage who carried your reserve gun when you plunged into the jungle after some rogue elephant, wore a New England made breach clout; and if you had a fad for Arctic adventure you found the Esquimaux with whom you came in contact wearing New England sweaters under their furry wardrobe. New England lithographs decorated baronial halls in Germany, and were pegged into the walls of huts occupied by the head-hunters of Borneo. Peoples in all quarters of the Globe discharged or blew themselves up with New England ammunition. Attleboro jewelry with its fascinating glisten helped to bring out the charms of the Mahdi's wives and furnished the laboring class with an excuse for getting rid of surplus earnings. To make a long story short—New England which is but a tiny patch of territory in a semi-continental nation, and too small to be represented on an ordinary papiermache globe, took upon itself the task of clothing and amusing the nations. The incentive was yellow gold, self-expression, and the sort of advertising that brings prestige. So the shops of America and civilized Europe displayed New England wares, while traders the world over packed New England trifles in their knapsacks and crammed her staples in bales for steamship and caravan transportation.

It is for me to confine myself to the readily assembled facts and to make unassailable deductions. If these are of value the economist and moralist will comment thereon. Meantime I find it difficult to refrain from speculation and inquiry. Conscious that the historian wins prestige by accuracy of statement and the cultivation of restraint, I am yet possessed with a desire to weigh the matter that I am chronicling with the reader and to make certain inquiries. If I am fortunate some one wiser than I will print an answer that will be helpful. Better still—some citizen will be stimulated to think deeply upon a problem that in one form or another is ever offering.

Here is one question. *Is it better for a model community to curb its instinct for foreign trade than to give it full rein?* The impulse to traffic with strangers is primal, just as is the impulse to conserve health and to regulate speculation. Economically, barter is good because it provides a people with things that it cannot grow or contrive for itself, and opens channels as to other and improving cultures. Is it not true, however, that trade which absorbs attention is as dangerous as physical training that neglects the humanities, and absorption in spiritual contemplation that ignores the call of the body?

I can understand why the denizens of a state which can readily supply every need by the import of raw materials, engage in foreign trade. To

be frank I cannot understand why they should convert their homeland into a world workshop.

Here is another question. Did not Richard Rowe's contemporaries make precisely the same mistake in material affairs that had marked the errancies of American idealists in the forward-looking days that followed the delivery of Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa oration on the American scholar? That is to say—did they not ignore temperance and moderation—the balance that characterized their ancestors who, with John Adams, knew the part that these virtues play in the affairs of men?

The forebears of all the members of this manufacturing group while harnessing achievement to imagination—had exercised restraint. We have marked their impatience with the excesses of transcendentalism. We have seen them bothered beyond words by the unwillingness of leading abolitionists to respect the law in working out their plans for emancipation. Their example is history, and we therefore know that while criticizing the idealist they were wise and discreet in working out their own adventures. Thus those who combed China and India for precious products to be borne to New England ports in their clipper ships, insured their ventures. Thus Lowell, Jackson and the Lawrences overlooked nothing in their comprehensive experiments in industry, giving to each factor the spiritual as well as material consideration that it deserved. Was it not for

Richard Rowe and his contemporaries, born on peaks which had been won by the toil of their predecessors, to curb their desire for commercial expansion until they had studied the situation so carefully as to have reasonably assured themselves against disaster?

I think I have been fair in setting out with some particularity the manner in which these modern machine adventurers drifted into enterprise too big to be mastered. On the surface there was nothing to suggest over-haste in their method. Ships have been known to drift to a certain doom. It looks to me as if these men, gold being their objective, had bartered their birthright for a mess of pottage without taking the time to do much thinking—a human quality which has its functions.

"What is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world and lose himself?"

It looks to me as if these men had accumulated great possessions and lost New England.

Leaving these questions which I have ventured to ask for others to answer, and returning to an examination of facts—I have already pointed out that the year 1900 found more than 700 distinct centers of industry in New England, by far the most of these being in the three states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

If we refer to the United States Census (1910) reports we shall learn that these centers contained all together 22,576 different establishments in

1899, and that of these 15,989 or nearly $\frac{8}{11}$ were in the industrial sections of the three tiny states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, which do not cover more than $\frac{1}{5}$ of the area of the whole of New England and are less than $\frac{1}{297}$ of the area of the whole of the United States.

There were invested in these establishments in 1899 $1,507,630,000, and they appear to have needed for their operation, if we can accept statistical reports, at least 851,903 workers.

It will be seen at once that the capital invested in these New England industries could have been used, if there was occasion, to draw the villager in the Caucasus out of his mountain home and the Italian farmer in Southern Italy from his meagre crops. We know that the occasion came by reports of the Immigration Commission (1911) which point out at length the manner in which English and Celtic labor during this period left the positions they had formerly occupied and either selected more remunerative occupations than could be provided by the mills, or were promoted to the performance of more responsible and higher wage-paying duties.

Here then were machines. Among them 12,850,987 spindles alone clamoring for workers to operate them, and the financial energy represented by a billion and a half dollars to procure the necessary help. What could be more natural, if sentiment or mere political considerations be left

out, than that the hateful labor-providing machinery organization which we have seen shaping up in the metropolis and other ports should be at once given carte blanche to comb Europe for necessary labor. That this was done is accurately evidenced by statistics.

Richard Rowe and his contemporaries have long since passed into the background. The human element has gone out of supervisory industry, and there is no longer conscience, sentiment or political prescience. We have seen the manner in which the small mill owners went afield to secure their labor without any foreboding as to the mischievous results which might follow. We have seen their establishments gradually reach out and extend until they have become burdensome to individual owners, and have noted the manner in which such responsibilities were shifted to the shoulders of soulless corporations. That this is not an imaginative figment of the author's may readily be proved by the following. In 1904 while corporations were not in control of much more than 25% of all the manufacturing establishments, they yet produced 74.5% of the total product of manufactured goods in New England. This of course means that by the beginning of the century the burden of obligation resting upon citizens engaging in industry to provide for the future of the communities in which they had been brought up and with whose traditions they wer

conversant, had been shifted to the corporation management which by 1909 were producing 81.4% of all the goods turned out in New England. It is perhaps needless to say that the transition thus referred to took place far more speedily in the congested parts of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut than in the states directly to the North.

The result of this sort of supervision is succinctly set out by the Congressional Commission which in 1911 found—first, with few unimportant exceptions, no record in the tables prepared for it by experts, of the presence of races from Southern and Eastern Europe in New England in 1880, or prior to the incoming of "Big Business."—Second, that Continental foreigners commenced to appear in this section between 1880 and 1890, the era in which we have noted corporation management coming into vogue, and that thereafter the movement of races from Eastern and Southern Europe continued with increased acceleration, while the influx of immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe practically ceased.

This Commission reported that in 1900 out of a total of 76,813 cotton workers in Massachusetts 72,843 were of foreign, and only 3,970 were of native, parentage; that among the wool workers in the same year out of 26,939, 24,262 were of foreign, and only 2,677 were of native, parentage. The re-

turns for Rhode Island and Connecticut indicate the same percentages for the textile industry.

It is a pleasure after making an ascent to look back over the hillside traversed. On the way up it was necessary to negotiate thickets, clamber around rocky obstructions, and push through wooded spaces. Consideration of details had therefore absorbed attention. Now there is an opportunity to take in the whole region covered by a single glance.

It is not otherwise with those who venture to explain the causes leading to important historical developments. Theory however valid it may appear requires to be tested by inductive reasoning, and we are apt to lose a grasp upon a whole proposition while examining it in detail. This being so, it is only after the drudgery is over that we are in a position to get a satisfactory survey.

If we look back then over the twenty years covered between 1880 and 1900 we find the men who have pioneered the building of New England's industries awaking to the opportunities for expansion of their various manufacturing enterprises. No sooner have they attempted to make their accomplishments keep pace with imagination, than they have become embarrassed by crowding responsibilities. The attempt to share these with lesser men or those who lack any particular interest in the community life of the promoter,

which appears to be their only recourse, leads to strange consequences. New departure takes place at the very moment when two great movements are on. One, which is calling the skilled laborer out of the factories to the plains and prairies of the West and into the sort of new and fascinating industry which demands brains and inventive genius. The other, when the world marking the notable reactions which are taking place in America as a result of the Civil War, is sending great throngs of foreigners into the Western World on voyages of inquiry.

Organization attempts to fill the empty places left in the shops by ambitious Yankees with cheap immigrant labor, which has crossed the ocean to share in the blessings of liberty without in the least understanding what its requirements may be. Organization is impressive, capable, and wonder-working, but wrongly directed as it frequently is, numbs the spirit and introduces tragedy. The part that it enacts in the dramatic finale of the Yankee Commonwealths is a horrid one. It eliminates religion, philosophy and political perception, and drops the curtain upon the stage which has been occupied by figures of New England tradition. With no restraining laws to hinder, it finds its way into the lowest dives of New York and Boston, strikes compacts with European depravity, and plans a campaign which is to deliver New England into the hands of alien

peoples. This is no treachery because organization owes allegiance to no country and to no person. When working for commerce it can seek its end without misgiving or fear of challenge.

All these happenings are bad for the Yankee but they produce profits. Profits shape up in immense aggregations of capital. Capital working in a well-defined groove seeks to double and treble itself by creating new factories, installing new and various machinery, and by searching the corners of the world to find laborers to do its bidding.

Organization now under corporate control is given carte blanche and if the men who have set the whole mass in motion by making a stir here and there wish to stop the avalanche, they are powerless.

CHAPTER XIV

ACCELERATED INVASION

FEW have witnessed an army on the march but almost everybody has seen the mobilization and parading of large bodies of troops. Such movements are conducted with a decision and dispatch which stir the admiration of the beholder. It is admirable to notice the manner in which various units are handled and the whole panoplied array directed to its objectives.

While opportunity has not been lacking, New Englanders have not been sufficiently interested in what was happening to watch the extraordinary manner in which the undisciplined and uninformed hordes of foreigners who now occupy their country were marshalled and distributed. Had it been otherwise,—had men watched the mobilization of the immigrant in New England—they would have marvelled. Here was no high military command to conceive the plan which ultimately led to the occupation of a rich country—no trained and carefully instructed staff to work out the details, or field officers to take immediate charge of march-

ing soldiers. Nevertheless those conversant with the immigration movement are in a position to state that no army in any way comparable in size to the hordes of the immigrants who entered the United States between 1890 and 1905 ever moved to designated centers with greater dispatch. That this is extraordinary will be appreciated by any one who is acquainted with the manner in which individuals and whole companies of new-comers were thrown hither and thither because of economic law or as a result of exploitation. Notable as this fact appears the following years were to witness yet more astonishing results. While the foreign invasion between 1894 and 1899 was sufficient as we have seen to change the character of racial labor on duty in the widely scattered industrial shops of New England, the body of aliens entering the country at no time rose above 343,267 during that period, and the columns which entered New England could not have been much more than from 25,000 to 30,000 per annum. The year Nineteen Hundred brought great acceleration in the movement and largely increased the numbers, so that by the year 1905 there were nearly three times as many foreigners entering our ports in a season as there were in the earlier period just referred to. This meant an increase for New England of something between 75,000 and 100,000 per annum.

With the latter year, 1905, ends the first phase of

mass immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. The ten years following brought 10,121,000 immigrants into the country—1,285,349 coming in one year—about five times the number that entered in 1895.

On various occasions in this period while immigration to New England was more than 100,000 a year I had the privilege, through the courtesy of the immigration officers, of watching multitudes pushing through Ellis Island— I confess to a consciousness at the time that the whole matter was appalling. There were instances when a single day found at least five great steamships in New York Harbor, each crammed to the bulwarks with picturesque, anxiously expectant throngs. These were to disembark as soon as landing room sufficient for their accommodation could be found. For the present they waited their time. The Federal buildings were crowded with precursors. Immigrants were in the corridors—immigrants in the detention room—immigrants undergoing examination by special boards—and a surging multicolored conglomeration of immigrant humanity was assembled in the general waiting room or moving through lanes fenced off for the convenience of the inspectors.

From this always brimming reservoir had flowed and was to flow most of the many-hued currents of color which rippling and billowing finally flooded New England. Even a casual thinker might well

express doubt as to whether Yankee conventions and sombre traditions could survive this flood of irridescence. Meantime the eye was filled with the novelty of the scene. Men with gay scarfs, and women with bright bandannas had gathered in picturesque knots or were corralled by families. Stacks of hand baggage cluttered the floor and everywhere was action. Uniformed officials moved to and fro bringing some sort of order out of apparent confusion, and look where one might, there was something to fascinate and hold attention. Privileged again and again to look upon such scenes from the top of the long staircase leading into this arena I recall very little variation. What one saw on a given day in the month or year was very much what one saw on a given day in the succeeding month or year. The beholder was conscious that vice and ignorance, later to be translated into tragedy, was hidden in the shifting mass of human beings, but neither appeared in such a way as to be repellent. There was obvious poverty and much bewilderment, but seen from an elevation these became inconsequential. The dominant note was one of expectancy—here, shining in roving, eager eyes, and there, felt if not seen in huddled figures which waited for the moment in which they were to realize anticipation. During the next day, or the day after, there were to be new scenes, opening opportunities, perhaps joyous experiences. Like the bivouacked con-

tingent of a great invading army each successive group reflected the sense of achievement, which dominated those never failing columns of a victorious host. Millions of men, women and children had pushed through the gates at which this unit rested. Millions upon millions more were pressing upon their heels. The individual might be weary and travel-stained but circumstances had made him part of the greatest aggregation of human beings that was ever marched across the earth's surface, and a dim consciousness of the fact brought dignity.

Such were the suggestions that came to an individual looking down from above. When permitted to descend the staircase and mingle with the thronging newcomers the reaction was quite different. One was now plunged into the midst of little domestic coteries, each cherishing its own particular plans and hopes, and wrestling with the problems of the moment. Here there was an appeal strong enough to reach the stony-hearted. The compassionate were bewildered by the apparent opportunities offering those having the gift of tongues, to give helpful suggestions or definite succor. Now the attention was drawn to a group of stalwart, if undersized, Italian peasants in hot debate as to the division of picturesque luggage—now to a Slavic woman absorbed in caring for a group of youngsters of all ages. The men, temperamental, dark-browed, excited, were liberal

with gesticulations. The woman, stolid and unemotional, distributed bread taken from a dirty sack with one hand, and wiped the noses of the nearest tots with the edge of her shawl with the other hand. Outside there was endless confusion, but the hand of the Government at present acted as a restraining force. Boats were constantly in waiting to transport human consignments to the Battery shore or to various ports and terminals, and cargoes were never lacking.

This brief sketch is casual and unsatisfactory. It has been inserted in the thought that a glance at a landing stage for foreigners destined for New England might be of some service to the uninformed. What transpired in New York during the years when immigration was at the flood, was also taking place in Boston which ranked next to New York in the United States as a port of entry. The reader who can visualize the same is perhaps in a better position to follow the movements of endless trains of immigrants who poured into New England during this important era.

By far the majority of these started from New York for reasons which have been suggested and which may be variously explained. First—because the name of the Metropolis was almost as well known to the European and Western Asiatic as was that of the United States, and thus became the selected objective of his trans-Atlantic journey. Secondly—because agents in the great

ports of embarkation found it at times convenient to substitute a New York ticket with railroad interior transportation for a steamship ticket marked "Boston" or "Providence."

Immigrants who were thus brought to New York and who were later to move to the Eastward either went at once to Empire State colonies in which their friends were located, or put themselves in the hands of officials for transfer to New England. This transportation was generally managed by using boats connecting with Long Island Sound ports from which the immigrant pushed to the Naugatuck and Connecticut Valleys, or by putting immigrants upon the Fall River, Norwich and Providence steamers connecting with trains for Boston and Rhode Island centers. Regular immigrant trains reached Boston via the New Haven Railroad at 6:30 and 8:15 practically every morning, and were met by steamship agents and the transfer companies. The steamship people after talking with the immigrant and examining the card pinned to his vestment, sent him to his destination over other lines of the same railway system. The transfer agent took the people ticketed, and marched or conveyed them across the city or to the Boston and Maine terminal; their baggage followed in huge vans. Sights of this nature were familiar to the generation of Bostonians now nearing middle age. Once at the North Station these latter groups which had the

distinction of being personally conducted, were railroaded to Vermont, New Hampshire and various parts of industrial Maine, as well as the northern cities of Massachusetts. It transpired, therefore, that a never-failing stream of Sound boats was always steaming eastward with immigrant cargoes, and that immigrant trains became a distinct factor in railroad traffic.

Besides the immigrants who landed in New York it will be remembered that a great many after crossing the ocean came first into Boston or the subsidiary ports of Providence and Portland. While numbers of these remained in the cities at which they disembarked, or were entrained for points west of New England, the majority almost immediately on landing pushed through on local trains to the towns where friends or relatives were located. Regular passenger trade over the New England railroads of those days fluctuated but the conveyance of immigrants never ceased. There were immigrants on the expresses, and immigrants on the accommodation trains, which flitted hither and thither. Big industrial centers received their regular consignments by specials daily, and there was hardly a manufacturing city or town which did not welcome its quota of newcomers on given days of the week. New England is enmeshed by steel rails. All in proportion to the traffic they bore carried immigrants.

It has seemed proper to lay stress upon the

movement of newcomers who proceeded direct to their destination upon first landing in America. Meantime it must not for an instant be forgotten by any one who seeks to become acquainted with the conditions of the great immigrant incursion that thousands of non-English speaking foreigners have from the beginning reached New England domiciles by crossing the Canadian border; by desertion of the vessels on which they had shipped as sailors, or drawn by economic conditions from some other industrial section of the United States. The all important fact is—that whether the immigrants were brought to New England through the lying connivance of steamship runners; by the insistence of friends, too frequently stimulated by interested factory bosses; or because of some economic appeal, they arrived in startling numbers. Some slipped in secretly by the sea, some poured over the Northern border or crossed the New York line. The rest came under the auspicies of the always busy steamships which provided a never ending ferry with gigantic slips, and an interminable succession of enormous transports.

If a superman having a magic vision had been permitted to view all New England at a glance in the days when immigration was at its height, he would have found something like the following;—Masses of non-English speaking foreigners swarming in every industrial center and blotting out the

older population, as the contents of a spilled bottle will spoil the written page. More and more, and yet more foreigners passing into New England over every railroad and highway that connects the fated region with the sea or the adjoining states. No one as far as I know was ever granted this privilege. Had there been such a one, and had it been possible for the beholder to broadcast his information by radio, still undreamed of in those days, I doubt whether he would have been listened to.

Manufacturing corporations were cognizant of the immigrant movement, and I gravely suspect were made glad thereby. The welfare worker was conscious that the conquering peoples were breeding like rabbits, but never dreamed of doing other than to secure legislation for their comfort. *The rank and file of the people waited for some one who cared greatly to stir them to protest, and there was not one single soul in all New England who appeared to be sufficiently moved to do this.*

Have you ever watched the changes that take place in any of the innumerable basins which are hollowed out in the rockbound coast of New England? After an advancing tide has once reached the edge of this natural bowl there is a constant increase in the contents. At first the incoming waves slip over low-lying reefs and find their way in by devious passages only to be sucked out again by the undertow. During this period the gain is inconsequential. But the level of the

ocean's surface is rising, and not only does more water get through the deep connecting gullies but the crest of each breaker, after flooding the surrounding ledges, pours over the lip of the pool. Now whatever the tug of the receding current may be, more water enters the bowl than can possibly get out under existing conditions. Therefore the depth of the pool increases rapidly until the tide is at flood. At this juncture what was once but a hollowed-out receptacle with granite walls is now a miniature pond or lake.

The changes thus brought about by an inflowing sea are no more astonishing than the changes that the inflow of the immigrant tide produced in those parts of New England that were suitable for human habitation. Unfortunately the analogy fails when it is suggested that the ebbing ocean will in due course call the flood water back to its bosom.

For a time the majority of newcomers to America cherished hopes that they would return to the homeland, but these were satisfied with one or two visits to the places from which they came. The multitude remained, and are today as much an integral part of the American population as the so-called native stock. The one-time Yankee towns that they occupied are now Polish, Jewish, Slavish, as the case may be. This can be checked up by reviewing reports issued by various towns and cities in Massachusetts.

It has already been seen that conditions in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, or that part of New England which offers a special appeal to organized industry, are absolutely similar. We can therefore assume that if data, useful for our purpose, is available regarding the cities and towns of any of these three states, it will be applicable to similar communities in the balance of the territory under discussion. This being so, it is fortunate that we have for reference annual returns of the assessors throughout Massachusetts which besides furnishing other information give the names of persons twenty years of age and upward resident in each given district. I have had recourse to these compilations in the hope of convincing myself that the figures furnished by census compilers and statisticians, from which I shall later make copious extracts, are more sensational than reliable. There will follow shortly hereafter some of the information thus gleaned.[1] It provides glimpses of intimate conditions which cannot otherwise be readily obtained, and presents disquieting facts for those who retain a sentimental interest in the New England of their childhood.

[1] Chapter xv.

CHAPTER XV

THE AWAKENING

THE year 1907 brought the greatest immigration to the United States that is recorded, viz.—1,285,349.

That is a staggering number when vitalized! Glimpse the cataclysm if you can. Men and women arrayed in an endless variety of unfamiliar costumes, and most of them wretchedly helpless. Some are excitable, voluble of tongue, and extravagant of gestures. Others are dumb with a sort of terror and are handled like freight. The fortunate ones are met by relatives or agents for the racial banking houses which have undertaken to receive and deliver these human parcels. The great mass are herded like cattle, lined up by steamship and railway officials, ticketed individually or in groups, and hurried to some smoky destination. There is color here—hope—play for imagination—power and romance! There is also sickness—wretchedness—and dismal poverty! Over the most of them tower the huge erections that metropolitan architects are experimenting

with. Around them push and scramble the foreign-talking knaves who prey upon immigrant credulity. Numbers will disentangle themselves from the nets set to enmesh them, and find their way to the West. Too many will not get much further than some bleak asylum or house of detention. Some will gravitate to the sewers and ditches of the coast cities. *Hundreds of thousands will make for New England.*

The reader has undoubtedly been by the sea when a storm was threatening, and recalls the reception accorded its unfolding. Black skies are ominous. Pulsing of the ocean and mutterings of distant thunder provoke remark. There is some petulance because of trifling plans that may be interfered with—perhaps some apprehension. Then humanity adjusts itself. There may be some re-arrangement of individual programs but for the most part people get back to their tasks or play under some fuddled notion that the whole matter is inconsequential. Exclamations awake them from this absorption. A black tempest is overhead and is reaching down to grip the earth. The sea has gone mad. Ears ring with the tumult of thunder, and hands are pressed to eyes as Heaven opens with its blazing artillery.

We have seen the Yankee in somewhat the same manner marking the early manifestations of political trouble when immigration first became notable. We have also observed him as he grew callous to

danger through familiarity, impudently harnessing it to his industrial contrivances, and saying—"Here is power! Shall we not utilize it?"

The year nineteen hundred and seven hurled a big enough bolt of jumbled foreign folk across his path to shock him to a consciousness that something had happened. This date marks—note it ye who are curious—the eve of national organization to study the political import of the marvellous happenings which centered in the United States in the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. The following year saw an attempt at federation on the part of men identified with movements for the correction of civic evils; and an organized effort by them to mitigate abuses at the immigration docks, stir the country to the need of corrective legislation, and provide for the instruction of immigrants.[1] This was not unnaturally centered in New England, and might even at that late date have been the medium for preserving some sort of Yankee prestige in Yankeedom. To tell the bare truth fashionable society ignored it, and the industrialist discouraged it. "If you have some ugly news," said the former, "keep it to yourselves." "Mind your step," quoth the latter, "or you will do something that will mischievously affect business."

I recall the manner in which a conspicuous corporation executive met the assertion, based on

[1] North American Civic League for Immigrants.

submitted summaries, that immigration would soon force ugly issues unless quickly controlled and guided into safe channels. "Your facts are valid and cannot be denied," was his reply. "Moreover your conclusions drawn therefrom are incontrovertible. The American people are playing with fire, and are bound to burn their fingers. That doesn't concern me."

Here is unemotional acceptance of news that would have stirred the countryside a hundred years ago, yes, twenty years before. Judging from observation I should say that it perfectly illustrates the temper of the dollar-hunting citizen of the decade before the opening of the World War.

He had one object in view—industrial prosperity—and seems to have conceived of himself as something apart from the community. Unfortunate it is that the commercialized Yankee was in control of New England's political and industrial affairs in those eventful days. Otherwise something adequate to meet the astonishing development of the hour would have followed. The public was no longer uninformed. The press had given it the startling immigration returns of 1907. Social workers who were mightily embarrassed because of the increasing problems which immigration had brought them, clamored for a hearing. Economists pointed out that immigration was the cause of the scandalous taxes with which the industrialists were saddling themselves

and their neighbors. The pulpit did not hesitate to take cognizance of the fact that New England was being Europeanized. Therefore the public fully understood and commenced in its queer blundering way to take thinking notice of what was transpiring.

Young Mrs. A., who stands for tens of thousands of young mothers living in the busy towns and cities of New England, had grown up with schoolmates of foreign extraction. A bright Hebrew boy had led her class. There had been a few Italians—a few Poles—and a scattering of other nationalities in the classroom. Social complications had followed which were not altogether fortunate. Trained in a democràtic home she had tried to adjust herself to conditions, although many of her schoolmates fretted articulately. Adjustment, because there was a world of difference in her antecedents and those of the foreign pupils, was difficult. As a whole these latter were honestly trying to climb up. To meet them there had to be a conscious lowering of standards. Therefore, her school life had been unsatisfactory. For her *that* was all in the past, but there was a present question that could not be dismissed. This had to do with the young mother's progeny. From all accounts they were being swamped at school with the foreign children from the nearby tenement district. Instead of a few Europeans to lend color to their classes as in her own time, the

personnel of the school was now Italian, Polish, Jewish—what you will. The upstanding fact that troubled Mrs. A. was—that except for the teachers and the English text books her children might as well have been getting their education in little Russia or Naples. Altruism working overnight and taxing the New England savings until they bled, had provided for every educational elaboration that the healthy and un-healthy mind can conceive of—and yet—both her offspring brought home accessions that were unwelcome. Little Mary's contributions were in the form of fleas, and other bugs obnoxious to an American housewife. Little Johnnie not only used unrepeatable language, but showed an unhappy acquaintance with old world morals that was terrifying. Mrs. A. was a constant attendant at mothers' meetings, and heard the State Superintendent of Education talk of processes which she found frankly detestable as Americanization or Americanism. To her matter-of-fact mind the manner in which the public authorities were meddling with the peace of her own home smacked of Europeanism, and the coming generation was being Europeanized. She was a frank person, and she did not hesitate to say openly at church and at bridge that she was sure "*something ought to be done.*"

James Smith, a Yankee artisan who stands for thousands of Yankee clerks and craftsmen, inherited a love for tools without being a genius or

over-burdened with talent. Three generations before—his direct ancestor had fellowshipped with Paul Revere and other mechanics who had played an important part in the Nation's beginnings. From his time to the present the Smiths, without being either acquisitive or unusual, had provided comfortable homes for successive families, and had enjoyed the respect of the community. When the first mill was built in his home town James Smith's father had been called upon for the sort of mechanical work that his facile fingers could well supply. It was in his time that the Irish and English had come into the country. James had played with the children of these immigrants when a boy, and had served an apprenticeship with them. There were good fellows among them, but many were shiftless and difficult. When he became a master at his trade they crowded a bit, but it didn't matter so much until skilled workmen commenced to drift in from the Continent of Europe. Then there was a difference which for him had gradually widened into chaos. Once he had been sure of a living in spite of healthful competition. Today he was unable to contract for honest but yet profitable work because of group interference in his craft, ring activities controlled by foreigners bound together by language, and traditions, or a lack of reliable labor. He did not hesitate to say that "*something ought to be done*."

Not otherwise was it with the Protestant minis-

ter who found his church, once a community center, stranded in a foreign neighborhood by the withdrawal of his parishioners from neighborhoods now dominated by factories or business encouraged by factories. Not otherwise with the storekeepers and clerks; with the householders and charity workers. The activities, the wages, the happiness and the philanthropy of each group was being spoiled and muddled by problems thrust upon them by the foreign invasion. They cried in unison—"*It ought to be stopped!*" And the facts which were available then, and are available now, show that it ought to have been stopped, if New England as such was to survive.

Of these facts certain of the most startling are set out in government charts which indicate changes in the native population of New England. By referring to them we get the following! In both of the years 1900 and 1910 each of the three industrial states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut—in which the so-called native population included a large percentage of the American-born children of immigrants, received more recruits from other states in the Union than they lost units of their own native population. But—in the same years, each of the three Northern States, which continued up to this period to retain a large native percentage, lost more of their older stock than they received additions from sister states. Such returns fairly present radical

changes which the historian cannot overlook. They show that in the year 1900 the three Northern States lost 346,501 natives, while the three Southern States were gaining 127,736 natives from outside—a loss for all New England of 218,765 natives. And again—that the three Northern States in 1910 lost 312,705 natives, while the three Southern States were gaining 107,578 natives from outside—a loss for all New England of 205,127 natives.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TESTIMONY OF THE TOWN RECORD

A STUDY of present conditions in industrial New England will show that its communities, with few exceptions, are as much alike as the pods in a peck of peas. Some of these human clusters are large enough to be listed among the world's big cities. Others are tiny hamlets. In succeeding chapters I shall present facts and figures regarding these. What I now desire to impress upon the reader as we prepare for a hasty survey of contemporary New England, is the fact that the conditions which we shall find in particular towns which we are about to examine are not unusual. They exist in every community, whatever its size, which awakes each morning to the discordant scream of a factory whistle.

In the next few pages we shall push into streets which are replicas of the densely-thronged streets of ancient European communities. If we fail to remember that what we find therein reflects conditions elsewhere in the northeastern states of the Union, this examination will have been undertaken to no purpose.

Typical industrial towns[1] in New England are—Webster, Montague, Ludlow, Adams, Ware, Maynard, Peabody and Chelsea. Let us make a brief survey of their inhabitants, endeavoring for the nonce to make official reports articulate; to put form into figures, and color into catalogues; so that we may visualize astounding changes. I take it for granted for the moment that the foreign names listed by town officials belong to foreigners, and the native names belong to natives—a very doubtful supposition, because foreigners are rapidly taking on English titles.

In making this cursory examination I shall in some cases comment upon such published data as the ages of men and women. These show that a large proportion of the natives whose names are listed on a given page belong to persons who have seen fifty years or more, while the majority of the names of foreigners represent persons not yet fifty years of age. Any one can see the profound significance concealed in such tabulations if they are given reasonable consideration. The conclusions that I have drawn from such material are—

First—that a great number of the Yankees who still hold on in the strongholds built by their fathers, are persons who have passed middle life. These will soon be only a memory. Inasmuch as the native ranks are but poorly reinforced, they constitute a waning factor; and

[1] All these towns are in Massachusetts.

Second—that the foreigners who now dominate in these industrial towns are either youthful or in the period of vigorous maturity, and are a *waxing factor*. It is not impossible that a bona fide Yankee will be looked upon by the grandchildren of these sometime aliens with as much curiosity as possesses the Yankee youth when they view a duck-billed platypus.

The Town of Webster, Massachusetts, was established in 1832, being part of the country first incorporated under the title of Oxford in 1693. It is located in the Southern part of beautiful Worcester County on one of the finest lakes in the Commonwealth. All around it are dome-like eminences—part of the procession of hills which march through Massachusetts and Connecticut toward Long Island Sound. Here and there the swelling crests are dominated by old-fashioned farmsteads, the houses are neat and attractive, the barns and outlying buildings are capacious and reflect prosperity. Twenty more miles to the North is the now foreign city of Worcester. Just to the South is lovely Pomfret, and other similar communities which attract many visitors because of their picturesque surroundings. There are 3,504 men who pay a poll tax in Webster. Of these 2,441 have distinct foreign names. This leaves 1,063 individuals, or much less than one-third of the whole number who are presumably of British descent, as the surnames

listed by the assessors are English or Irish. The men and women of the town seem to be in the same proportion, that is—the foreigners outnumber the English-speaking stock two to one. On turning over the leaves of the official record before me in order to check up such data by a more intimate survey, I find that the men whose names commence with the letter "A" number 75, and that of these 47, or nearly two-thirds, are foreign. As one glances casually at the "A" lists, he does not at first see any familiar cognomens. The eye is held by such titles as Alcibiades Apostolides—Wacil-Amlowski. Closer inspection discloses an Adams—an Allen—an Anderson. These last are surely representative of the American stock, and clamor for recognition. Incidentally the selected pages show that there are 8 persons with foreign names and 8 persons with British cognomens who are above fifty years of age; 6 natives and 20 foreigners so-called are under 30 years of age. So much for the letter "A." There seems to be a fair chance for the foreigners!

If we attempt to marshal all the inhabitants of the town before us, company front, each company distinguished by a different initial letter, it is unquestionably true that we will find some of these aggregations of a strong English, and others of a marked Irish complexion. Meantime since we are trying to visualize the preponderance of the foreign element in certain quarters, let us take up

the names commencing with "K" at a venture. I protest that this is not by selection, and that I open the Town record at these pages by chance. The first page of "Ks" has 31 names—all are foreign. The second page has 35 names—10 of these are Continental Europeans—15 are frankly Irish and are listed as natives. The third page contains 34 names of which 31 are foreigners. The fourth page contains 35 names of which 34 are foreigners. The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth contain 140 names of which 140 are foreigners. All together there are 275 persons whose names commence with "K," of whom 247 are Continental Europeans. Of these 247 foreigners 48, or a little over one-sixth, are over fifty years of age. Of the 28 natives 12 or nearly one-half are fifty years of age or over. The reader may well mark the fact that the proportion of the people on the declining side of fifty among those bearing British names is proportionately much greater than one finds to be the case when he scrutinizes the foreign list. The frank and disturbing fact is that the British-Celtic stock of Webster is in full retreat. There are those well past middle life who probably remain because of sentiment which has a special appeal to certain natures. There are some comparatively young persons who are drifters or who lag behind because of family matters. The capital reason which keeps people with British names in the community is age and infirmity.

I have deemed it wise in a discussion of conditions in Webster thus far to consider only the names of persons paying a poll tax, and of those who, if they are not able to make the town their abiding-place, will be satisfied to remain in New England. This seems to be the more conservative way of viewing the situation. If any one seeks to belittle my representations by referring to the whole resident population of the town, he will get little food for comfort. All together we are told there were in Webster in 1915, the date of the last Massachusetts Census, 12,000 persons. Of these 10,000 were foreign-born or of foreign-parentage. Neighboring communities present other opportunities for study which need not delay us at present. There is Dudley, a most interesting farming village of 4,373 persons, in which three-fourths of the people are foreign-born or of foreign-parentage. Here the Polish element is not satisfied with paying a poll tax, but is buying up and cultivating the soil in the new homeland. Fifteen years ago I recall motoring into this village and having a very interesting conversation with a town official who called my attention to the manner in which the foreigners were taking the old farms and homesteads. They now appear to have reduced the whole countryside to possession. There is Southbridge, another busy industrial community in which nearly 11/14ths of the 14,000 inhabitants are from the South and East of Europe. Over

500, or about four per cent, come from the Ottoman Empire.

West and North of Webster in Franklin County lies Montague. It is part of the land granted in 1729 to the Town of Sunderland, and is just North of historic Hadley and Hatfield where men of Anglo-Saxon stock wrestled with the Indian for supremacy. Here we are almost at the New Hampshire line, and the nearby Connecticut River except when swollen by the Spring freshets, is not more than a sizeable stream. I take it for an example because the town report lies before me. Hadley or Hatfield, in both of which 4/5ths of the inhabitants are of foreign stock, would have answered the purpose as well. Montague contains altogether 14,000 people; 11,000, or 11/14ths of the whole population are of foreign stock. Two of its sections—viz.—Turners Falls and Millers Falls—are well known to tourists. There are but few persons in the town whose names commence with "A." The men who pay a poll tax and whose names commence with "B" number 129.

Of these 102 have foreign names. More than ¾ of the men whose names commence with "K" (the initial letter used in examining the Webster returns), are foreign. It is not improbable that those who have not reached middle life may have some difficulty in finding a person carrying an English cognomen when he himself arrives at advanced years. While there are many French-

Canadians in Montague, the Poles appear to predominate as is the case in Webster.

To most New Englanders the towns which we have been discussing, Montague and Webster, are properly thought of as country districts. Continuing to keep away from the thickly settled industrial centers, and carrying our search as far West in Massachusetts as is practicable, we come to the town of Adams, sheltered by Greylock, the highest eminence in lower New England, and adjacent to Williamstown, the seat of Williams College. Berkshire County in which it is situated is rural, and would naturally be counted with that part of New England (viz.—Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire), which has been referred to as containing the bulk of the native population—yet 59,000, or more than one-half of the 114,000 people in the County's 32 cities and towns are of foreign lineage. Adams has 13,000 inhabitants, of which 10,000 or more than 10/13 are of immigrant stock. Poles are numerous, being more than 3,000. The nearby College, to which reference has been made, is located in a valley which is crammed with suggestion, recalling the desperate duel that men of Anglo-Saxon lineage fought against foreign (French) invasion. Its founder gave his life in an endeavor to maintain Anglo-Saxon prestige and culture. It has turned out among other useful men a group of educators who have continued to pay tribute to the English language which George

A. Gordon, the eminent Boston divine, calls—"the very vessel of the Lord in which American freedom is carried." How will it adjust itself to conditions which threaten its standards?

Leaving the hill country and returning to the edge of the closely populated industrial section, the reader will find many communities well worth his study, without taking into consideration the great cities which are to have later treatment. Among these is Chelsea, under the wing of Boston. In 1915, 4/5 of its population was foreign. It is a center for Russians and Jews. In Maynard, which had an honorable part in the fight that opened the American Revolution and which is almost in sight of Concord's wide-spreading meadows, the foreigners outnumber the natives almost six to one. Peabody, not long since a typical New England town, has 13,000 foreigners out of a population of 18,000. There is Ludlow, Palmer, Tewksbury, Ware and various other sometime country towns that fifty years ago were altogether American. Mighty little Yankee stock is there left in them.

While these communities have been grouped for the purpose of study, they are not widely separated as distances go in the diminutive state of Massachusetts, but look out on quite different surroundings. The Bay State is famous for the great variety of scenery which is crowded within its

narrow boundaries. A traveller who visits these towns can hardly help becoming cognizant of this. Ludlow in the lower Connecticut Valley is on the edge of the rich bottom lands which have been utilized for the growing of tobacco. From an elevation one may see to the West the outcroppings of the Appalachians that guard like a wall the Western boundary of the State. Palmer and Ware look Eastward to the uplands which I have characterized in referring to the town of Webster. Tewksbury on the edge of the Merrimack Valley, views the foothills of New Hampshire. Maynard surrounded by a rich farming country, is not far from the slopes that glimpse the whole sweep of the splendid Nashaway Valley. Peabody and Chelsea either bathe their feet in salt water, or just out of sight of the ocean, feel the rigor of its fogs.

Shall we now examine available data which has to do with certain of these towns not already discussed!

Here is Ware, for instance, very nearly in the heart of the State. Returns of those paying a poll tax in 1924 reveals a sharp contrast in the racial groups which the town harbors. The Massachusetts Census of 1915 shows the district to be largely made up of French-Canadians and Poles of various lineage, but one is hardly prepared to turn from pages which are solid with French names to pages that are Polish from end to end. Here they are spread out for the unbeliever to

view and analyze. Baudin, Beauregarde, Belisle, Benoit, Bernard, Bessetts, Bouchard—and so on. As one reads he will imagine himself to be in LaBelle France itself, and for some unknown purpose checking up the names of the gentry who followed the fortunes of the Capets and the Bourbons. How these mellifluous romance titles became attached to the French-Canadian peasantry is for the wise ones to answer. There is nothing Saxon about them.

Arranged in these drab reports they glitter with suggestions to the historian. "H'm," says the latter—"it was only the other day that New England boys—Browns, Smiths, Stevens, Whites, were shouting—'Here' to the nasal call of some British Orderly Sergeant, and preparing to push through to a frontier which the French were threatening. Now it will take some scrutiny to discover any one of these English names in the French section of our industrial towns."

In making such a comment the historian is throwing out food for conjecture to students of Francis Parkman's interesting books. These, it will be remembered, were written for an Anglo-Saxon generation, and catered to the self-satisfaction of the latter by showing how through thrift and thoroughness the English colonies got the better of French enterprise. Francis Parkman wrote well and was careful about the material that he used, but the embarrassing truth now

creeping into the consciousness of American scholars is that the French are very much with us. In increasing numbers they are enjoying the franchise. Perhaps also they are controlling the affairs of small towns which were once assaulted by their ancestors under some chevalier or seignor. It will be for the economist to tell us whether it is all for the best. It does not seem an economy of effort for one generation to fight for the exclusion of a race that the succeeding generation is to welcome with open arms.

Other problems, however, are presented by the scheduled returns of the Ware Assessors. A turn of the page—and as suggested before, a Polish contingent crowds for recognition. The English ear delights in French sounds even if the tongue fails to properly render the smoothly running syllables. Both the ear and tongue stand aghast at the titles which the Polish people from Russia, Austria and Germany display in this tabulation of names which talk of Anglo-Saxon decadence. Here are some of them just as they follow each other in the printed list;—Kowzynia, Kowal, Koziel, Krol, Kryczka, Kut, and Kazaszcz: Strange enough such titles and other cognomens to the last generation, but they are becoming more or less familiar to the New England ear. Not only this official compilation of Ware, but the town records of scores of other communities bristle with them.

Going back to figures—sample pages of the catalogue of poll tax payers of Ware selected for consideration, contain 316 names between the name of Bator and the name of Brown. Of these 276 are foreign, presumably French, and 40 are British. Hardly more than 1/5 of the foreigners whose names are thus referred to are over 50 years of age. This contingent therefore promises to abide in Ware for some years to come. The British referred to in the same category indicate a trend toward elimination. One-half of the names cited are of persons over fifty years of age. While it is always to be borne in mind that we are only analyzing a few pages, I am inclined to draw the conclusion from such matter as I have been privileged to review, that any tabulated town record which contains the names of persons of British origin and foreigners in equal proportion will show the latter, if youth is to be so considered, to have a very great advantage.

If Ware presents figures similar to those discussed in other communities, Maynard brings up a new proposition, and is therefore cited as an instance of a community which may be deceiving itself. While its official publication contains pages of voters (as distinguished from persons required to pay a poll tax), who are European in complexion, it prints far more British names than one who is informed in regard to the character of its population would anticipate. Perhaps

it is seeking to convince itself that it is unaffected by the foreign invasion, and therefore asserts that the larger part of its inhabitants are transients. If so, it but reflects a popular heresy.

Maynard is the site of important mills conducted by the American Woolen Company, and is definitely a mill town. Out of a population of 6,000 reported by the Massachusetts Census of 1915, 5,000 are of foreign-birth or of foreign-parentage. Here it will be seen at a glance that the foreigners outnumber the persons of British origin five to one, but the persons eligible to a poll tax required by law have a strong British flavor. Hence the searcher for information who looks to the local records for data in regard to the personnel of the population will be led far astray if he concludes that the town is mostly inhabited by English-speaking peoples. I have deemed it wise to make careful reference to this apparent exception. There are many other towns that should be named in the same category, and the expert who is desiring to give a picture of conditions throughout the State or in New England must be careful not to be misled by community returns that fail to reflect an existing status.

A brief reference to Chelsea will close the Chapter. Classified as a City it differs in many ways from the towns and villages that have had our attention. Inasmuch however as it cannot be listed with great municipalities like Boston, Lawrence,

Worcester and New Bedford, it may perhaps serve to connect the rural industrial towns with these notable centers of population. Chelsea has long been settled. Originally it was known as Winnisimet, Rumney Marsh, or Pullen Point. It was incorporated as early as March 13, 1857. One who leaves Boston for a visit to the famous North Shore of Massachusetts will pass through a succession of communities dominated by a European population—East Boston, Chelsea, Revere (which is nearly 4/5 foreign), Lynn and Salem. None of these is of more interest to the ethnologist than Chelsea. In 1920 it contained 14,000 Hebrews, besides large aggregations of other nationalities. According to the Massachusetts Census of 1915 the whole population at that time was 43,000 of which 36,000 or more than 5/6 were of foreign lineage. One who looks over the reports of the different wards finds certain precincts almost solidly European, while street after street are compactly Yiddish. I recall a precinct in which seven English names stand out from a Semitic environment with strange distinctness. Familiar enough were these names to the people of this busy city fifty years ago. Now they look strange and out of place. If I am right, the Russian Jews preponderate. Those who seek for the address of Mr. Brown, Mr. Jones, or Mr. Robinson, will have to go far and enter the realm of adventure. There are plenty of Karolczaks,

Olszewskis, and Szunskys, but an English cognomen is a rara avis, and there are sections in which a person who can only talk English or French will be as helpless as if in Transylvania or in the Ghettos of Prague. Here and there a sign-board above the door of some enterprising shopman displays a name which indicates that a Yankee still survives and is endeavoring to bargain. Such features are not unlike an oasis in a desert sand, or an islet in a blue and far-reaching sea. The dominant note in Chelsea is foreign. The languages which are spoken are those of strange peoples, and the Bostonian who desires to acquaint himself with Continental customs need only to substitute a few moments' ride in a Ferry boat for a trans-Atlantic passage. Yes—Chelsea is foreign—solidly so—but the reader is not to draw the conclusion that the enterprising Yankee has entirely left. As we have noted—business signs still indicate that he is following his proclivities, and it is a fact that four precincts out of ten contain a respectable number of people who may be rightly termed natives. Children abound in Chelsea, and the facts will justify the presumption that they are mostly foreign. Again—a census taken of persons over fifty years of age will show persons having Anglo-Saxon antecedents to have a large representation. One can better understand how this can be, who realizes that 36 of the 45 Anglo-Saxon names listed as dwelling in a short

street of the American section of the city are of persons who are over fifty years of age. Twenty of these individuals are between eighty and ninety! If these persons are fairly vigorous they may live to see the time when Chelsea is 99% foreign. Their lease of life will not have to be long continued to witness that consummation.

PART V
CONQUEST

CHAPTER XVII

A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE

WE have seen New England as it was—and glimpsed at it as it is. To picture New England as it is to be—will require some such further examination of existing facts and figures as are found in the following Chapters. Inasmuch as these make dry reading, I am summarizing their contents so that the impatient reader may skip to the final caption without doing violence to his conscience. The time that is saved by accepting my conclusions without checking up the data upon which they are based, will perhaps be used to devise means for perpetuating the culture that originated with the passing Yankee. It is too late to do much for the Yankees as a people.

While I am with those who recognize Divinity in human prescience, I am inclined to think that most prophecy is built on careful observation and logical deduction. A fool who looks into the crystal ball of the necromancer frequently sees things that never eventuate. The man of or-

dinary judgment who has the facts, and is careful to limit his fair conclusions by proper qualifying premises, need not go far astray. I suspect that any one who examines the matter I am about to cursorily pass over (amplifying the same as much as he deems wise), and who permits his brain to function, will qualify as a prophet, if he asserts that the destinies of New England are hereafter to be shaped by a recent European stock. Regarding such a result as certain, I have asked myself whether Yankee culture will survive the race that gave it expression! This is a momentous question, and will be discussed in the closing chapter. For the present other matter claims our attention.

The reader has been taken into a few representative towns and introduced to people with names that were passing strange thirty years ago. I am now in due course to take up, first—the great cities and centers of population—then—the whole countryside with its little hamlets and rural communities. The inquiry will show that New England today is in the possession of the so-called foreigner. This means that here, there and everywhere in its borders there is a reproduction of conditions described in the last Chapter.

As soon as the facts to be thus provided have been sufficiently discussed to bring conviction as to the physical presence of these European aggregations, I shall indicate reasons which lead me to

believe that the immigrant host—already characterized as an army of occupation—*will abide.* The first reason has to do with the unlimited reserves that are available, in case of weakness, to reinforce the invading myrmidons that have dug in and provided for permanent residence. Children born to the immigrant in this country constitute the reserves, and no conqueror ever possessed more effective auxiliaries. Instead of being in camp and cantonment these are in the schools. We shall find them there!

The second of my reasons lies in the sagacity with which these foreign battalions, now conscious of their objective, are participating in domestic affairs and absorbing the civil government. Did any astute General ever show more astuteness? Compared with the organizing force behind the European in New England, Norman William and his ilk must be regarded as tyros. The Conqueror was a shrewd prince, but it was long before Saxon and Norman could be made to coalesce. In our time a single generation of Americans is enjoying the unique experience of seeing itself swallowed. We shall note the process of ingurgitation in the Chapter on Naturalization.

The third and last reason for my conclusion that the immigrant is to abide and administer the future of New England, is the grim and awesome operation of the laws of life and death.

It is conceivable that a high military enemy Command might, if favored by fortune, occupy every strategic position in New England that is now in the hands of the immigrant. It is conceivable that having so done, this high Command might provide for itself sufficient reserves to maintain its conquests; might insinuate itself into the domestic politics of New England, and might do every other thing that the immigrant has miraculously done for himself. It is inconceivable that any merely human high Command could have done what the *Vital Statistics of New England* show that Fate is doing for the immigrant, as the latter throws his progeny into the gaps left by death in the ranks of the native New Englander. *These Vital Statistics* will be briefly surveyed before I venture on a last word.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE IMMIGRANT IN OCCUPATION—CITIES

IN a recent Chapter we have made some examination of typical New England communities. Those of us who are English-speaking have balked at the pronunciation of names which paralyze the tongue. It will be wearisome to particularize further or to continue a house to house canvass.

Bearing in mind then that the four million and more foreigners in New England, whom we are now to locate in a general way, have colonized in streets and areas similar to those we have just studied—let us make a speedy survey of the populous sections to which the alien has gravitated. These, as the reader of the foregoing pages will expect, are to be found near the coast, in the river valleys, or adjacent thereto. The vast majority are in the Southern industrial country. If there were no traffic to delay, the passengers of a speedy car could get a glimpse of each within forty-eight hours. The Government in case of war would not need much more time

to mobilize the millions of men and women in these aggregations.

Bridgeport, New Haven and Waterbury are the upstanding cities of the cluster of Europeanized communities which is nearest New York. Bridgeport, which fluctuates in its population because of the great industries centered here, has an interesting history. Only a few years ago it was comparatively modest in its dimensions and in its ambitions. In those days it was called Stratfield, and like Norwalk and Stamford to the West of it, was a notable Yankee rallying point. Great stone walls reaching through the wooded area to the North bear witness to the sometime presence of farming natives. These were of Anglo-Saxon stock and long since trekked over the border, pointing first for the Ohio, then for the great West. For a time Bridgeport relapsed into comparative obscurity, then for various reasons it caught the pull of the great business expansion centering in New York City and became notable not only as the abiding-place of Barnum's Circus, which long held a cherished place in the hearts of the American people, but as an industrial city of the first rank. By 1900 it numbered 71,000 persons in its population, and a traveler from New York City on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad could not fail to notice the great factories which obstructed the view on both sides of the roadway. In 1910

this respectable population had increased to 102,000 and again in 1920 to 143,000—doubling its growth in twenty years, and adding 40.6% in the recent decade. According to the 1920 Census native Americans are in a small minority. There are more than 48,000 persons of Russian, Hungarian and Italian blood, and an excellent representation of Germans, Swedes and Austrians. Altogether the city shelters some twenty different nationalities. The foreign population numbers 104,000. To the North several prosperous communities crowd upon Bridgeport. All are strung, like so many beads, along the Naugatuck River. Chief of these is Waterbury which has frequently been a target for proletariat attack, presumably because it is not far from the great Metropolis—the headquarters of red propaganda. Although nearly seven-ninths of its people are of alien stock, the City deserves great credit for the manner in which the English-speaking leaders maintain contact with the foreign groups within its borders, and in the vicinity. Within a short riding distance of the latter, and of Bridgeport, is New Haven, the seat of Yale University, and the sometime home of a galaxy of colonial leaders. Notwithstanding the fact that thousands of the select youth of the country make this their headquarters because of the College's just fame, a stranger wandering outside the Campus enclosure might well suppose himself in a European city.

Turn the corner of some streets and you will be in any one of a dozen colonies dominated by men of different culture from that of those who control the destinies of Yale. New Haven has the largest foreign population of any of the cities in Connecticut, although all of these have long made their appeal to the immigrant. By the Census of 1920 it contains 162,000 people, of which 113,000 are of foreign white stock. Italians and Russians together number 55,000 souls. It may be noted that few cities in the country, which are American in character, commence to number as many inhabitants as the foreign sections of New Haven. Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; Jacksonville, Florida; and scores of other centers of importance; some of them state capitals, have far less people. There are not many more Italians in the famous Italian City of Sienna than in this community.

East of the industrial area thus briefly sketched the Connecticut River makes its way to Long Island Sound. Flowing through a rich alluvial country it ties together another group of towns which, if the foreign groups continue to increase as heretofore, will in the near future be distinctly European in character. Among these—Hartford, greatly enriched by the large insurance corporations which it has nourished, appears to dominate the country between the Valleys of the Connecticut and the Thames—

while Springfield has the hegemony of Western Massachusetts. Few cities in America are the peer of either. The Republican system of government was worked out and first put into operation in Hartford. Undoubtedly it is to play a large part in the New England of the future. Although $\frac{9}{13}$ths of its people are of recent foreign extraction, and its population increased 39.6% between 1910 and 1920 because of such accession, the custodians of its annals do not appear to be disturbed. They are conscious that the people interested in their collections are disappearing as by a blight, but have done nothing as far as I know to make any record in regard to the foreign invasion. 594,000, or nearly one-half of the inhabitants of Connecticut, are contained in Hartford and four of its sister cities.[1] It should be noted that 427,400 of this population, or between two-thirds and four-fifths, are of recent foreign origin.

Springfield, up the River, is seven-twelfths foreign in spite of its diversified industries which attract skilled mechanics of Anglo-Saxon heritage. It has a great pull upon the thrifty towns above it, and is at flood when holidays and week-ends bring the tobacco-raising foreign farmers of the Valley, and the non-English speaking mill hands from adjacent industrial factory villages into town for shopping or entertainment. Recently I dug up the record

[1] New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, and New Britain.

of resolutions adopted by a Springfield town committee appointed to consider what the provincial hamlet could do for Boston which had been put under embargo by the British King. I cannot give the words verbatim, but I recall that the inhabitants were called upon to hurry all their valuable subsistence over the old Bay Road to the aid of the beleaguered city, a call which met with an over-response. I also remember that the document closes with the following peroration;—

"Resolved that we withdraw all relations from any gentleman in this community who prefers his private emolument to the liberty of his country."

Fine words—but written over one hundred and fifty years ago. How very absurd of those old fellows to kick up a fuss because they could not have parliamentary representation. Are not we today, who are taxed until it hurts, much better balanced? We have liberty—(sic)—of a sort, and view the future with serenity, although only one out of four of our neighbors are at all informed in regard to the meaning of "liberty" as understood by English-speaking folk.

Lying between Connecticut and Massachusetts is the little State of Rhode Island, so pierced and laced about by the estuaries of the sea as to be mostly aquatic. So small is it in area that its confines are hardly large enough to con-

tain the environs of a single great capital. One is therefore tempted, in the study of municipal conditions, to speak of the large foreign population of the Pawtuxet and Blackstone Valleys as if they were urban dwellers. It will serve my present purpose if we cross state lines and put all the communities of Rhode Island, together with the nearby Massachusetts cities of New Bedford and Fall River, into one Metropolitan district. 617,000 of the 850,000 people within the area thus set apart were either born abroad or are of recent European origin. Among these are hosts of Russians, Italians, Portuguese, and French-Canadians. There are more Italians than you will find in Perugia or Ravenna, and more Portuguese than live in any of the big towns of Portugal, if Lisbon and Oporto be excepted.

Through this territory runs the famous State boundary which caused much controversy between the rulers of Massachusetts and the new Plantation of Rhode Island. During the period of the first colonization the country round about must have been freely ranged by Roger Williams while a refugee from the hierarchy centering in Boston. Widely as the fancies of that greatest of Lord Coke's pupils adventured, it is doubtful if he foresaw the marvels which were to transpire in these parts. "Turn, turn, my wheel." Inexplicable are the changes which come with the revolving years. It was but yesterday that a

young scholar (first of all men in this quest), endeavored here to think through a system by which peoples of all races might be accorded freedom of thought without friction. Now stupendous factories erected on the site of the forests which he roamed, have brought to his old stamping ground men of every shade and color and of widely differing languages. Knowing nothing of him they go to and from their daily toil thinking and saying whatever pleases them—some of them plotting against an indulgent state. Roger Williams, who was as firm for political order as he was for spiritual freedom, would have known how to hold these in check, but today they are unrestrained.

The reader will observe that in order to avoid burdening him with statistics, I am confining myself to the consideration of industrial districts. This requires the passing by of scores of towns and several notable cities which are stamped American, but look foreign to the person who mingles with their people. By following such a severe process we have been enabled to get some idea of conditions in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Southern Massachusetts. There remain but three more manufacturing circuits for us to survey. After this is done we ought to be able to draw some conclusion in regard to the urban population of the Nation's North East corner. It does not now seem necessary for my purpose

to give any time to two of these nuclei, viz: The hilly heart of Massachusetts and the Merrimack Valley with its famous cities. From Worcester (in the former), with a population of 179,000, of which 127,000 are of foreign stock, one can on a clear day view the smoke of a dozen towns which are very like in character to the larger municipality. Some of them are three-quarters foreign! Five manufacturing centers[1] in the Merrimack Valley or adjacent thereto, have a population of 367,000 of which 280,000 are of foreign white stock.

With this curt dismissal of the Europeanized sections of New England, which are deserving of far more consideration, we are to at once take up the galaxy of cities which surround the "Hub" in Massachusetts Bay. Now we are dealing with a constellation of exceptional interest. While Boston proper, which covers a limited area of approximately some 37 square miles, contains not more than 748,000 people, Greater Boston—the forty cities and towns so characterized in the Massachusetts Census of 1925—shelters 1,808,000 souls.

Here are the headquarters of the different foreign groups which threaten to soon swing the destinies of the Bay State. This is an affirmation in regard to the future. It may be regarded by some as presumptuous in one who is supposed

[1] Lawrence, Lowell, Haverhill, Nashua, Manchester.

only to deal with things as they are, to make such a statement. If any critic raises the question I shall reply that the historian has to do not only with what has been but with the present as he sees it. This present comprehends not only that which is static, but that which is in a state of flux—the trend of fashions and customs—human currents that recede or advance. Without these latter no chronicler can give a picture of his times. One who deals with physical geography does not confine himself to mountains and plains, but lays much stress upon ocean tides and rushing rivers, with all the erosive forces that destroy and create. The man who deals with human affairs must be equally unfettered. In war time he cannot neglect to indicate the direction in which armies advance or retreat. In time of peace he cannot neglect to indicate the objective of the peoples whom he chronicles. As I confer with my contemporaries I do not find any one who questions the fact that the foreign element and its population will soon swing the destiny not only of Massachusetts but of New England. The high command and the shock troops of this great aggregation which crossed the Atlantic from the Eastern hemisphere is located in Boston and its suburban cities.

Considering only Boston and a dozen other communities which group themselves about the capital, this is what I find. There were in 1920 early 1,000,000 persons—or to be literal, 982,000

classified by the United States Census as of foreign lineage, *within a short distance* of the gilded dome of the State House. Inasmuch as all the people in the district numbered but 1,-394,000 this foreign element not only preponderates but forms nearly five-sevenths of the population. That this multitude is at present directly under the control of English-speaking stock there can be no doubt. For the most part the bankers and financiers are Yankees, although there is an assimilated English-speaking Jewish contingent which participates. The political destiny of the combined cities is in the hands of Americans or British-born Celts. This is true of the personnel of the police. The great manufacturing and merchant adventurers are Yankees. Some of these are Pharisees of the Pharisees. Some are distinctly commonplace and of no special credit to their lineage. A handful of them are without the acquisitive characteristics which signalize their stock. A few are masters of men with quick intuition and wide grasp, who are distinctly doers of things. Skilled labor is Anglo-Saxon Celtic. Far better informed and intellectually superior to the small merchant and salesman who dislikes to soil his hands, it is distinctly inferior as a class to the mechanics who rallied around Sam Adams in the days when Boston earned its sobriquet—"The Hub of the Universe."

The groups of English-speaking people thus

hastily reviewed continue, as I have said, to dominate and to direct the political as well as the industrial affairs of Massachusetts besides exercising an important influence in New England, but the wise ones among them can hardly be without misgivings. Considered as a block they may be likened to an islet the edges of which are being constantly worn away by the gnaw and thrust of angry seas.

While the casual observer who has brains cannot fail to note that the personnel of this leadership is changing, a student of affairs must conclude that something more dreadfully significant is transpiring. A leadership—that endures—must be in touch with the people that it leads, but not only has this particular leadership failed to keep touch by giving due attention to the cultures, prejudices and the general makeup of its following, but the multitude is becoming conscious of itself. It is also listening to soap-box philosophers who have given more attention to the compelling power of the masses than the consideration of the humanities. There is therefore some occasion to believe that the minority with British antecedents now dominant in Greater Boston, will forfeit its prestige by decay both in character and practice, and (it is exceedingly unpleasant to contemplate the fact), because of the self-assertion of the masses.

A famous lighthouse was once located within

the circumference of the circle which binds together the cities which we are discussing. This rose to a high elevation just off the coast of Scituate. It was considered a masterpiece of engineering skill and had long met the impact of fierce Atlantic storms and the fury of seas which were apparently of irresistible power. The time came, however, when doubts were expressed as to its security. Episodes which gave occasion for serious apprehension followed. Then came the test, the climax—and Minot's Ledge Lighthouse collapsed in a tempest that stirred the foundations of the deep. Insufficient in itself, it crumpled up before outside pressure!

Now as to the people who are the flesh and blood, bone and gristle of these clustering municipalities. Drawn from every corner of the world they are as varied in language as in temperament. Across the United States in regions where they develop radical statesmen, the people live in great racial blocks—Scandinavians and Germans to the North—Spanish to the South. Boston and its environs to the contrary is a radiant crazy quilt of diverse lineages. The Turk jostles the Norwegian, and the Portuguese bargains with the Breton. Here are small lots of East Indians, Mongols and Arabs—big aggregations of Latins and Slavs—and every conceivable combination of folks. In Europe the Russians were accustomed to bait the Hebrews and mas-

sacre them in savage forays. In Boston the Russian dogs the steps of the Hebrew in an eager desire to catch up any scrap of socialistic philosophy that may fall from his lips. In Asia the Turk and Armenian are at constant odds. In Boston they lie down in near vicinity like the lion and the lamb. It is so with other groups which in the other world are at each other's throats or play the seemingly foreordained part of dispossessor and dispossessee. Brought together in these meeting places of the Nations they are quite as apt for the moment to disregard inherited antipathies as to accentuate them. Perhaps it is the atmosphere of a free country—perhaps it is the police! Whatever the truth may be, one fact is patent—that while they use much forbearance they do not amalgamate—they do not understand each other—and there is a not unnatural tendency apart from those who catch the right American spirit, to nourish racial pride. In the days when the foreigner was not as obvious as at present I recall a so-called conference of the Nations which was convened by a group of intellectuals. There were present self-appointed delegates representing perhaps thirty peoples. Each in turn claimed the upstanding virtues of his own strain which are held in honorable regard by mankind, and in so doing did not refrain from indelicate reference to other races. When the testimony was all in, a Swede, long-time resident

in Massachusetts, took me apart and demonstrated that in the last analysis only the Swede had earned the right to survive. The incident is not without significance. It portrays prejudices which will not readily be smothered in the near-by future. The newer New England will soon be crystalizing into some permanent form. What part will these idiosyncrasies which smack of self-consciousness, bear in the process of amalgamation? If my friend, the Swede, is right, his species will dominate by right of natural endowment without regard to its numerical representation. If majorities are to prove the compelling factor, the trend will be along lines dictated by racial groups in proportion to their representation. Such examination as I have made of available figures suggests results as bizarre as the most daring of Turkish rugs. More than one-fifth of the whole foreign population, and nearly one-sixth of the whole population of Greater Boston is Italian and Jewish. At the present birth-rate in these circles the peoples in question will have much to say in regard to the kaleidoscopic pattern to which Boston will soon adjust itself. Will the town be like Naples with Vesuvius and the wonderful blues of Naple's beautiful Bay left out, or will it more nearly approximate Jerusalem? It is as hard to fancy an Italian-Jewish or a Jewish-Italian people, as it would be for the limner to combine the austere

Holy City and Bella Napoli on a single canvas. I am personally inclined to think that present tendencies will persist, and Hebrew and Italian, as now, will occupy different sections of what promises to be an imposing Metropolis. Dr. Charles W. Eliot in his brave, direct way has recently pointed out that the melting pot theory, erstwhile so fashionable, has its limitations. To him and to others no difficulty appears in a continuous segregation of races. However that may be, the Jews have dug in to stay, on the West side of Boston proper, not far from where William Blackstone found a temporary refuge from the bickerings of the Bishops in England, and the Italians occupy the whole Northern part of the original settlement.

Imagine what Blackstone, the hermit who dwelt at the base of three-pointed Beacon Hill for six or seven years before the arrival of the Massachusetts colonists, would have said if he could have looked three hundred years into the future! The Jews were nowhere popular in those days, and the Puritan was frankly intolerant. Blackstone crossed tumbling seas to escape the ceremonies of the Episcopal Church. Later he fled from Boston to Rehoboth because he could not abide the "Lord's Brethren." Fond of solitude and fearful of crowds he certainly would have relieved himself of some interesting remark if he had forecasted the reign of the Hebrew in

what he regarded as the choicest corner of his beloved peninsula. Those who are familiar with bygone records place the log house of the city's earliest pioneer near the corner of Charles and Beacon Streets. There was a spring here, and wide marshes which continued to provide Bostonians with snipe shooting until a comparatively recent date. Presumably Blackstone's dwelling was well up on the higher land. If his spirit were to revisit the ancient locus, it would have to pass along Charles Street through two rows of Jewish shops. Curiously enough these are filled with antiquities. Sheraton tables, beautiful originals or imitations of choice Hepplewhite and Chippendale chairs of the early nineteenth or late eighteenth century period—now and then a bench or cradle of French-Indian war days—are offered for sale by eager Hebrew merchants who have imbibed more accurate antiquarian knowledge of colonial times than any of their Yankee neighbors on Beacon Street possess. Hebrews selling Willard clocks in the old pioneer's front door yard—time pieces that did not come in vogue until his bones had rested beneath the soil of Plymouth County for more than one hundred years! There is a chance, is there not, that William Blackstone's spirit would feel that it had lost its path if it happened to pass through Charles Street in our day?

I have spoken of the West of Boston, which is

solid Hebrew, as crowded. So is the Italian section which faces the North, crowns Copp's Hill, crosses Hanover Street into North Square, and girds the waterfront. One hundred and fifty years ago Burgoyne and Gage climbed to the quaint little cemetery on elevated ground to watch the red-coated grenadiers assault Bunker's Hill. That was only the other day as history looks at events. British fought British to establish principles affecting the affairs of the colonist, but which, once championed, were to affect the world.

Retrospect leads to strange conclusions. Had there been no American Revolution, no war, would this historic ground be as absolutely Italian as it is today? Surely the philosopher should travel hand in hand with the historian, if men are to grow wise. British colonists here fought British Parliament, and Italy has the plunder. Now amid the din and clamor of an industrial present the question repeats itself. "Would this hill-side, now famous, be Italian if the American Revolution had not been fought?" If the answer be "No"—there is yet another and more embarrassing inquiry which treads upon the heels of the first. "Was the American Revolution worth while?" The American of British antecedents, who has lost his heritage, may feel inclined to shamefacedly say—"No!", but in view of what that struggle meant for humanity, must

say—"Yes!" The Italian who lives under the shadow of the Old North Church will say—"Yes!", and so will the people of varying cultures who are within sound of a cannon-shot.

It will be profitable for any one who thinks of the foreign invasion of New England as a passing phase, to visit the section of Boston which has stimulated this revery. I think of no corner of the historic peninsula that is more characteristically Italian than the streets which cluster about Copp's Hill and Old North Square. Here in shops which Drake tells us were once occupied by artisans and mechanics who vibrated to the appeals of Sam Adams, he will find merchandise imported to meet Italian needs. If it be a festal day, there will be Italian flags and gay banners everywhere. The last time I passed through Hanover Street a gleam of color caught my attention and drew my willing feet toward it. Salem Street which debouches into the broader thoroughfare was radiant, and everywhere beyond, the ways were arched with festoons of ribands, and the houses dripped bunting. In days gone by the Yankee traveller had to take a Mediterranean steamer for the Adriatic to witness such crowds, such volubility, such contentment. Now the whole pageant glitters and becomes vocal in bypaths that the austere Puritan trod ponderously. Think—one hundred and fifty years ago some of the troopers whose volleys startled the unpleasant-

ness at Lexington, were billetted in these parts. It was English enough then. But little more than fifty years ago United States soldiers of the '61 period flanked by a cannon in yonder doorway, fired their muskets into a mob of Civil War draft rioters. No Italians were here then. There are none but Italians here now, and the deeper one penetrates into the winding streets of this picturesque quarter, the better he will realize that the settlement is a permanent one.

The Census of 1920 informs us that there are 77,000 Italians in the City proper. Perhaps 100,000 would be a safer estimate. Meantime it must not be forgotten that vigorous colonies are scattered through the communities which provide outside housing for people who do business in the Metropolis.

I have dwelt for a little upon the Jews and Italians because these races preponderate in the strange agglomeration of peoples who inhabit the area about Boston. Other nationalities must not be overlooked. There are nearly as many Swedes, viz.—24,000, in this territory, as there were inhabitants of Boston in 1800. There are more Swedes and Germans together than the whole population of the central city one hundred years ago.

Do you ever visualize the Boston which stirred the thirteen colonies to final action by inaugurating the pre-Revolutionary Committees of Correspondence? There are severally—more Portu-

guese, more Russians, more Poles, more combined Lithuanians and Letts in and about the city today than there were inhabitants of the Town of Boston before the British embargo depleted its numbers in 1774. As with the races that have been more particularly considered, these strange peoples seem to have had an aptitude for historic spots. I mention it not for rhetorical purposes, but because of its deep significance. Take the Letts, for instance. They are here, there and everywhere in the Roxbury section of the Municipality which was formerly the home-town of Governor Dudley. While the most progressive are frequent visitors at the Community House[1] which is nearby the site of the Governor's residence, the unassimilated multitude drift on their way to and from work through streets that were once familiar to Dr. Joseph Warren.

Imagination does not dare risk calling up the shade of the patriot who was a dominant figure in pre-Revolutionary councils. The hero who so willingly shed his blood at Bunker Hill, and whose quaint oration over the victims of the Boston massacre was listened to so eagerly, was a strong character. If he were permitted to speak today, a fair number of what is left of the solid English-speaking men of Boston would either shrivel up or ask each other what the gentleman of an earlier period was talking about. You can hardly

[1] Norfolk House Center.

expect a trader, who is nothing more, to understand the sort of patriotism which flamed in Joseph Warren.

No people survive long which neglects its holy places. Such neglect automatically follows engrossment in business. The Yankee cherished his altars and his traditions, but he was a shrewd bargainer, and allowed the lust for gold to dictate. That meant his undoing. Commerce follows the flag. I will agree to that. The regrettable fact is that it too often overwhelms the flag. Men cannot serve God and Mammon! Barter as an obsession brings prosperity, but blunts the devotion to high abstractions. One or the other thing must rule. We have watched the development of tendencies which explain the presence of the foreigner in New England. In so doing we have found that the great change in the Yankee's home country came about because the latter was too busy to look after primary concerns which had a preponderating influence in the lives of his forebears. The fact that his shrines have fallen into the hands of strangers is damning evidence of his decadence.

Meanwhile time slips along. Unless we bid farewell to the new Boston which except for the very tenuous threads of the older city which abut on Beacon Street, is all European in its complexion, we shall need an interpreter to get us out of "the Hub."

CHAPTER XIX

THE IMMIGRANT IN OCCUPATION—THE COUNTRYSIDE

TURNING now from prosperous urban centers to the countryside, we find that there are small towns in New England where the population is still made up of pre-Revolutionary stock. Some of these, once farming and fishing villages, are now residential. These keep their roads in fine shape because of the taxes levied upon the city-bred progeny of the original settlers. Others are so far down and out that they do not even attract the foreigner. Most of the latter are relics of the great hegira which depopulated New England when the West dangled its prizes before the adventurous. A few record a great mistake on the part of those who colonized. They would not have been planted if it had not been for the rigid conditions of the French and Indian Wars that required the swarming young people to limit the range of their emigration.

While the names of such little boroughs entered on the rolls of the several states make an elegant showing, the combined population will hardly

equal the size of a few industrial cities. Take a tiny town like Tolland, for instance, which has 199 people of whom 163 are registered as native. It will require 481 such towns to make a city like Lawrence. Tolland is emphatically native, but if one left enough of these older stock natives to balance the foreign-born people in town, who number 36, it would take the surplus natives of 235 such little hamlets to offset the foreign-born population of an industrial center like the one above mentioned.

I am not informed as to whether Tolland is providing for its future as a distinctly New England town by encouraging large families among its natives. If it is so doing, it is in a class by itself. As a rule, towns of this character appear to more nearly resemble West Tisbury, located on Martha's Vineyard regarding which I have a letter dated February 13, 1923, from which the following is an excerpt:

This town has a very small population. We have only 150 voters registered, and 345 inhabitants. I think our only foreign-born voter is a Swede. There are two other Swedish families living in town. We have perhaps five Portuguese families, all market gardeners, owning their homes or employed by farmers. All are comparatively newcomers. The natives are descended from the old Ireland settlers, whose names still predominate. The town dates from 1670. *Very*

few young people remain here. I think our population in 1850 was double what it is now. The conditions are the same in the towns of Chilmark and Gay Head.

Uninteresting as such figures are, they serve the purpose in showing the minor part that such aggregations are playing in the present drama.

The reader must not conclude from the original statement in regard to the rural villages of New England that all of these are unaffected by the extraordinary changes which are now transpiring. Some like Southboro, Massachusetts, have seen the immigrant come and go, but there are very many which have been inundated. I shall shortly refer to the story of the latter because they help one to visualize the extraordinary happenings of our time. In doing this I propose to use material which has been specially furnished me by upstanding citizens or town officials. Selections will be made from Massachusetts districts because of the manner in which this State by its statistical publications has supplemented the work of the United States Census Bureau, and because I have needed these figures to check up local returns. The reader may confidently assume that the villages chosen for illustration fairly represent conditions in similar communities in Massachusetts and throughout New England. In the meantime I am sure that it will be useful to glimpse at the experience

of towns like Southboro which have met the foreigner only as they have coquetted with modern industrialism, or have been the scene of an engineering proposition which has introduced a labor camp. Unless the student of this period is informed in regard to the special type of European invasion now under consideration, he will not have all the facts that are of historical value. What we need to bear in mind is—that the denizen of the huddled cluster of huts brought together by a padrone who contracts for his following, the dago section-hand, and the unstable factory employee as he journeys about—is becoming acquainted with the terrain which he is later to occupy. Bacon has told us that travel is educative. There is no question but that the roughly-handled Italian, Slavic or Hebrew day laborers or machine operatives, who have been drifting hither and thither in New England for the last thirty years have learned much from experience. They may have seemed dull to the few Americans of the uplift type who came in touch with them, but the record shows that they, temperamental by nature, have reacted to the attractions of New England in a very comprehensive way. To many, used to the swarming ghettos of Warsaw, or the canyon-like and cramped alleys of Naples, the tenement districts of Boston and Providence and Lowell have provided social advantages which they require. To others, neglected farms or un-

worked bottomlands have opened vistas of opportunity. Eventually, therefore, each has selected an abiding place suited to his wants, drawn on the banker having custody of his funds, and sent for his family.

Southboro is an example of the towns which became acquainted with the foreigner during the restless, shifting period of his trans-Atlantic experience which preceded his decision to make America his home. Its experience is kindly recorded for me by a town official who says:

> We have had very few foreigners in Southboro. The only times when their presence has been notable was when in the eighteen seventies a shoe factory was established and brought to town some one or two hundred French-Canadians who dispersed about 1890. Then when the Metropolitan Water Board built the reservoir for the City of Boston in 1895, 6 and 7, we had a few hundred Italians, nearly all of whom disappeared as soon as the work was completed. A few remain.

Shall we now go back to the rural and suburban communities which have a strong foreign complexion, and glean what we may from such stories as are available. In so doing it must be borne in mind that it is the object of this Chapter to reflect the observations of town clerks and other respected citizens, still living, as to the manner in which

the foreign people have taken possession of their homeland.

Way down on Cape Cod is the village of Truro. In 1915, it contained 663 persons, of whom 557 were so-called natives, and 106 foreign-born. Of the natives only 352 were the children of parents *born in this country*. This would indicate that of 663 inhabitants above referred to 417 were either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, and that the stock which is properly designated as native is largely of recent European origin. Of the foreign-born 84 are assigned to Portugal. The Town Clerk informs me in an interesting note under date of January, 1923, that forty per cent of the Townspeople are Portuguese. He adds—

> Most of these speak good English, and make good citizens. The children are being educated in our schools. The old stock are Catholic.

This is all to the good. It gives us an inlook at a sober, industrious, progressive community, which, in spite of its foreign complexion we may well believe will treasure those Yankee traditions which are of value to the whole race. It is grievous to report that some of the officials of towns of this character are more reserved in their claims for the new people who have come to them. One of these agrees that the Portuguese and Italians in his district are spending money to educate their children, but adds that—

These Italians are great drink makers and distributors, and are not much good.

I am calling attention to Truro which, with the exception of Provincetown is the farthest East of the New England seaboard communities, because it is fairly representative of other similar towns along the Southeastern coast of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. A leading citizen in one of these towns explains the incoming of the Portuguese by referring to the whaling business of New Bedford. This city, as has been seen, in the early part and middle of the last Century had a world reputation because of its great whaling interests. We have already noted its ships recruiting crews from all over the world and particularly in the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. My informant now tells me that—

The Portuguese sailors thus recruited after discharge upon the return of their vessels to New Bedford, or by desertion, became the hangers-on in the purlieus of the latter city. Here they were picked up by householders in outside towns who needed assistance about their business, and especially by the cranberry bog owners because they asked so little for their labor—

A condition which I understand no longer exists.

That the Portuguese should be making their im-

print in this section is explained by a statement from the same pen—that "these people are exceedingly prolific." To illustrate the fact the writer designates some forty families under his observation, and remarks that "each family contains at least six persons."

Watertown is perhaps too big for mention here, but since it is too small to receive attention in the Federal Census, I am making brief reference to it. In 1915 this community was credited with 16,515 persons. Of 11,219 natives only 4,988 were the progeny of parents both of whom first saw the light in this country. Inasmuch as it shelters 5,296 foreign-born persons, it will appear that the older American stock is waning. A reputable citizen puts the beginning of the alien influx with the locating in town of a great manufacturing company about 1896. According to his memory there were at that time but one or two Italian families. At present there are 1,059 residents who were themselves born in Italy. From the same source I learn that the Italian element has been steadily growing during the last fifteen years. These Latins are gradually acquiring possessions, so that today possibly some seven or eight hundred of them are property owners. Watertown was at one time a considerable center for the Oriental. In 1915 it was credited with 719 Turks, and 692 Armenians. Industrial conditions apparently account for racial

changes. The story of Watertown is of course the story of scores of industrial centers that escape the attention of the sociologist.

When the conversation in rural districts drifts toward the new invasion, the villages that border the Connecticut River claim a certain prestige because of what has recently happened to them. I might select any one of the many farming centers which bask in the beauties of this charming valley, and in so doing favor whichever of four states suits my whim. I am choosing Hadley, Massachusetts, because of a letter which lies before me from one in authority. This is what it says—

> I wish to state that about one-half of the adult population, and about three-quarters of those under age are either Polish or of Polish parents. With the exception of about fifty persons the balance of the people are native-born citizens. The population of the Town is about 3,000, so that about 1,900 are either Polish or of Polish descent.

In 1915 the Massachusetts Census assigned 2,666 souls to this historic town, listing 1,743 as natives. A casual examination of its returns will therefore carry a wrong impression. With this official report before him, what more natural than that the Yankee optimist should say—"Fudge—I am not worrying about the future, when a town like Hadley which looks foreign is really two-thirds Anglo-Saxon."

The value of such veracious letters as I have above transcribed lies in the faculty they possess of making the reader dip deep into available records of every sort and compare the various tabulations therein provided. An inquirer, so disposed, in the case of Hadley will find that not more than some 700 of the apparently preponderating native group were born of American stock. This means that my informant who happens to be in the best possible position to know, is entirely correct when he emphasizes the Polish character of Hadley. I have assumed that the sceptic who distrusts such correspondence as I am using, will refer to the Census tabulations to refute facts which ought to be unpalatable to a New Englander. If he does so, he will learn that the canvasser for details had provided other data that is not without interest. Thus he will ascertain that there are 366 foreign-born Polish women in this frontier post of the first Puritan immigration. With the native women of Polish stock thus recruited, Hadley promises to range well to the front as an abiding center of Polish culture. Here is matter for those to ponder, who are interested in the social and civic future of the region round about this little farming community. Meantime there are other figures which have a wide significance. These have to do with the European countries from which Hadley's Polanders come. It appears that 573 of the Town's Polish inhabitants are

from Austria (Austrian Poles); 214 from Russia (Russian Poles); and certain others from Germany (German Poles). American soldiers who felt the throb of the World War found a sharp and regrettable cleavage between Polish draftees of differing nationalities. Presumably the feuds of those days do not persist in the Connecticut Valley or the journals of the hour would duly notify the public. This is excellent, but readers who know how closely the "Americanized" European follows political events in the old country, will grimace when they visualize the complications which a coup d'état across the water may cause in inconspicuous New England villages.

Inasmuch as the noted excerpt regarding Hadley has no reference to the date when a great change was wrought in the personnel of its inhabitants, or the impression which the Polish newcomers have made upon my correspondent, I am going to quote from a letter written by a well-informed citizen of the Town of Northfield, which lies above Hadley in the near vicinity of the New Hampshire line. While unprepared to say that the conditions therein recited will also apply to Hadley, I believe that what is true of Northfield may be accepted as reflecting the status in too many of the agricultural villages in New England.

About 1860 [says my Northfield correspondent] we had quite a lot of Irish people come to town.

They were industrious, made neat little homes, and most of them proved good citizens. Those were the only foreigners attracted here till within a few years when the Polish population have been coming here and taking up some of our best farms. Some of these are quite Americanized, but many of them are not as desirable as we could wish. They are all workers, the women and children working in the fields, weeding onions, etc., and they let their housework go, and the homes both inside and out show it. We established night schools for the grown-ups, but very few took advantage of these, and I feel we will have to wait for coming generations before we see many changes.

There is a panoramic picture! It is familiar to me, and I wish that it might be on the retina of the reader's eye. One gifted with imagination sees much as he reads! The quiet New England town deserted by its youth, and finding its sole nourishment in tradition. The passing stir which brought the Irish and North Continentals from Europe. Then the finale accompanying the immigration from Southern, Middle or Eastern Europe. Trained to thrift and cleanliness, the remnant of a masterful people views with horror the slovenliness, the clutter, the crowding which characterizes the unregulated encampments of an undisciplined invasion. Americans have formed the habit of thinking of the European peasantry which is now taking so large a part in their affairs,

as particularly untidy. If we are to be fair, we must confess that the environs of a camp, whether pitched by Anglo-Saxons or others rarely please the fastidious. Read Dickens' *American Papers*—read *Martin Chuzzlewit*—read Cooper's "Satanstoe" Series. Recall Brete Harte and the description of the mining camps of the new West. Can you find anything more filthy and under the heel than what is disclosed in these narratives? There are racial similarities under like conditions, and these must all be kept in mind by the philosopher and the student. Such facts will in time be pleaded by those who hold a brief for the immigrant. From the latter's point of view they satisfy the conditions. The immigrant laborer is driven by a law which urges him to escape from poverty, small pay, lean pastures. He is frankly too poor to afford repairs on his buildings, and patches for his clothes. He has neither time nor disposition to inform himself regarding the laws, the customs, the habits, or the wishes of the American people. Meantime the nice and fastidious population, which is being displaced by the rough-hewn newcomers is little disposed to excuse the invaders who are trampling their conventions under foot. Anomalous indeed is the position of people who have inherited the cultural and intellectual insight of a past generation but are themselves lacking in sufficient force to safeguard its traditions.

Now and then one sees a tree that has been broken by the impact of a fierce storm. The woody fibres of the inner trunk which held it splendidly erect have been splintered and torn so that they can no longer function. There is still life and circulation in the inner bark, but the tree itself is a thing of the past. Such a fallen monarch typifies the Yankee society of a thousand New England villages. They have played their part, and although they exhibit signs of life, will never come back to their former estate. I think one who reads the excerpt from a letter, which I shall now quote, will be sure to realize this.

The communication to which I refer is dated March 10, 1923, and is written by the Clerk of an interesting town in Franklin County. There is that between the lines which shows the writer gravely endeavoring to adjust himself to conditions which he finds oppressive. He says—

As to the foreigners here—you say—"foreign-speaking," and of course among themselves most of the foreign born are foreign speaking also, but I shall write of foreign born regardless. Recently we have had or now have men or women or both as tax payers or voters or both of the following nationalities;—English, German, French-Canadian, Italian, Swedish, Russian, Austrian, and I think a man born in Armenia, or Turkey is about to move in. Among the first so-called Polanders to come was a family located

here in 1911. The father purchased a farm which had previously been always in American hands. The birthplace of this man's parents was Galicia. While this family has moved from town, many others have come.

There follows a list of Polish and Slavic names, some of which are noted as having moved away again—others as having been naturalized.

About 1909 or 1910 I made a special effort through various agencies, largely Swedish, Salvation Army, etc., to get some better-class Swedes to settle here on the old farms in the ——— part of the Town, several of which had been or were to be practically abandoned. In 1910 I think one family came, the ———. These now have seven children, several of whom were born here. They have wonderfully improved an old place, as far as farm operation is concerned. The oldest girl attended the High School in the nearby town and won a scholarship in the Normal School which she attended one year. She is now teaching the lower grade pupils in the public schools. The oldest living boy attended the Dairy School at the Mass. Agricultural College one quarter recently. Another boy is taking a two years' course at the same institution. This family moved away in 1922 to another New England town for better educational facilities. Three other Swedish families came to the same neighborhood and are still with us. They had all previously worked more or less in machine and similar shops, in places like Greenfield, Hartford and Beverly. Three of them had held or now hold a town office. They,

and I believe every pupil in our very small ——— School, was from one of these four Swedish families, and under a specially efficient teacher their record of attendance was perfect.

A High School girl from one of the last three families has at least twice in less than three years been on the Honor List with the children of an American who has a national reputation as an educator.

All these Swedes are naturalized.

A German, with an American wife, tanner by trade, purchased about 1909 or 1910 one of the best farms in the town. His wife died and he was married again to a woman born in Bohemia. There are two boys by the first marriage and five by the second. He is naturalized. Both he and his wife vote.

Another German, born in Europe, has an American wife. He first came here on his vacation. He is now a permanent resident.

There are some Italians here. Quite a few came to help out on wood-cutting jobs several years ago, and a few families settled in the Southwest corner of the Town. One man of a very desirable class worked on the grounds of a wealthy summer resident. While he has left town, his family remain. Relatives of this man, and other families operate farms.

At our Center School last term only about forty per cent of the pupils were of American parentage, where a few years ago there were no foreign children.

We don't worry about the children being loyal. They are loyal Americans in all cases.

"I hope yet to be instrumental in getting more Swedes and perhaps some Finnish people to settle here. Not only this Town, but ———, ———,

———, ———, and ——— and other places sadly need the better class of immigrants from the North of Europe in our many, if not quite abandoned farms."

This gentleman adds a postscript calling my attention to a handful of villages regarding which he has information which seem to be going through experiences similar to those which he sets out in his letter. I shall not comment on these.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW AMERICAN CHILD

THERE are Americans who appear to believe that immigrants residing in America are temporarily encamped in the regions they now occupy. Such optimists look forward to a morrow in which the armies of newcomers will pack their picturesque luggage, and take passage for the Old World. While this may be true of regions in the United States of which I am without knowledge, no such hegira will occur in New England. A hundred reasons might be given to bulwark this assertion. I shall refer to but one—the children.

It was easy in the old days for an adventurous European in search of a job to stow himself in the small steerage quarters allotted to him in a trans-Atlantic boat, and after landing in America to drift about from point to point. Many died, others fell into the hands of the authorities, the majority after wrestling with circumstances earned the right to survive. These, notwithstanding voluble protests in times of industrial unrest, like

the country and have sent for their families, or married in the new land. Today the New England children of this parentage outnumber those of their progeny who first saw the light in foreign countries. If the sometime immigrant desired to move these little replicas of himself, he would have no small job to do so. As a matter of fact, he is in no way disposed to attempt such a task. Were he inclined that way, the children would speak for themselves. They know America. Few have recollections of Europe. As a result the erstwhile immigrant may be compared to a ship-master who is weary of the seas and is lying in a sheltered home port. The anchor he has thrown over is too heavy for any available gear on his vessel to raise. He does not dare to hoist sail without it, and there is no occasion for him to adventure further. *He will remain!*

I confess that I should like to dwell for a moment on this foreign-stock child in the Puritan land and give illustrations of the way in which these youngsters seek to adjust themselves to bewildering conditions. Nothing could be more entertaining! Autocrats in the home—outside life is thrice the mystery to them that it is to the Yankee's offspring. Scenes of the business streets—the school—the habits of those indigenous to the soil—suggest to each neophyte something strangely different from the familiar sights and customs of the foreign quarters. Back of all this

perplexing phenomena is the wonderful urge of racial instincts that mightily resist the advances of a strong culture. Add the vital experiences of all children, and you have an adventure that might appal Jack-of-the-Beanstalk, or Cinderella.

Such a study, however, is not a present privilege. The immigrant child has been introduced as a powerful factor in curtailing the further wanderings of innumerable fathers and mothers. I desire now to emphasize the fact that he and she are here, there and everywhere in New England, and by so doing to supplement such evidences of foreign invasion as have been given. While this may be done in various ways I shall confine myself to a cursory study of the public schools. This will be sufficient to enable the reader to make further investigation, if it seems desirable.

For several generations the schools of New England were famous for their erudition. The old gazetteers which had the genius of selecting only that sort of descriptive matter which counts, testify to this. Today they are conspicuous as centers of assembly for bantlings of every race and from every clime.

I have made reference to the distinctly foreign character of long lines of working people who, morning and night, wend their way to and from the great mills which dominate industrial areas in this section. After these armies of employees

have passed to their work, and again before they return home, the streets of New England cities, towns and villages are alive at given hours with a never-ending swarm of children, in which a distinctly foreign element preponderates. Cross-examine them as to whom they may be, and the reply will be "Americans." Doubtless they are Americans—but Americans of the future, not of the past. To the New England eye they are for the most part Latins, Slavs, Celts, Syrians, and Teutons—the latest expression of cultures which heretofore have been at stranglehold with that of the Yankee. Look at them carefully ye decendants of Bradford and Winthrop. In ten years more these children, offsprings of races quicker-witted, more acquisitive, and better polished, if not sturdier, than your own, are to decide whether your traditions are to be junked or to be adopted as a world heritage.

Because this is so, I very much wish it were possible to provide some tabulation of figures which will give an appreciable idea of the personnel of these youthful armies which carry the fate of New England with them. Unless I am grievously mistaken, this is quite impossible. The Census people—a fact which is not without significance—apparently find it impracticable because of constant accretions in the ranks of those they might otherwise enumerate. Many school committees refuse to permit statisticians to make

racial differentiations in their pupils for fear that it may delay assimilation. This leaves us to rely upon insufficient data and imagination. For the purposes of this book, however, a study of local conditions in a few centers will be sufficient.

Boston is one of the cities which does not permit the grouping of its school-children under the head of genus and specie. The adoption of such a policy speaks for itself. The School Committee of Boston has done admirable constructive work in its foreign colonies, has made a study of the question of citizenship, and has published a most successful pamphlet on the subject to guide its teachers in the performance of a duty which has been too much neglected. If the Committee decline to provide themselves with a handbook setting out the different nationalities of the children committed to their charge, it must be because they foresee complications which would not occur in a native community. This fact does not hinder us from getting an impression of Boston schools.

For the most part both those of the City proper and of its surrounding communities are predominantly foreign in character. The great schools of the North End are Italian. The great schools of the West End are Jewish. Ten or more years ago I recall visiting various school houses and talking to the parents of daytime pupils. They were widely separated—being in South Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, and other sections. My

audiences were distinctly foreign—Lithuanian, Polish, Jewish and Italian. In certain cases an interpreter was necessary. In many instances the parents were accompanied by their children. I was then given to understand that the school-children who received instruction in these buildings were very generally of the same race as the people whom I addressed.

While Boston treads gently in the matter of nationalities, there are other New England cities which appear to find an advantage in collating data regarding the nationalities of their school-children. Notable among these is the City of Lawrence. On my desk lies a tabulation which comes to me through the courtesy of the able Superintendent in charge of the Department of Public Schools of that City, who states, in reply to an inquiry—

> We have several schools in the central part of the city that have very few pupils of American blood. One of these buildings holds 1,500 pupils, and a second, a few rods away has 1,000.—A new 1,000-pupil building is on the way in this same immigrant section which will displace three small buildings.

I have seen nothing more comprehensive than the charts referred to in this communication. Summaries show the whole number of pupils in the day-schools to be 7,534; and, giving no attention to children born of foreign parents, it may

be noted that 1,120 were actually born in foreign countries. It also appears that only 2,729 of the whole aggregation are listed as Americans. These are less in number than the Italian children—2,731. There are nearly as many Lithuanian and Polish pupils as there are English and Irish. There are 509 Syrian and 915 Russian pupils—altogether a total of 18 different nationalities.

In making reference to these conditions which are not exceptional, I cannot forbear repeating a recent incident which occurred in a nearby town. The teacher of a grade made up largely of black-eyed, brown-skinned infants, whose parents must have felt the caress of Italian suns, put this question to each of her protegés—"Can you name an ancestor—Is he living—Where was he born?" It so happened that a fair-haired tot, a descendant of the rugged soul who held the first Salem colonists together until Endicott and his recruits arrived in Massachusetts Bay, was by circumstances, which need not here be explained, a member of the class. When it came her turn to answer, impressed by the replies already given, and apparently desiring to keep some sort of step with her schoolmates, she made quick response—"My ancestor's name was Roger Conant. *I think he was born in Italy*. He's dead!"

A true story may serve the purpose of an allegory or parable!

Worcester presents a different problem from

that of Lawrence because the so-called American children are in a small majority. The whole number of scholars is 32,000, of which 14,000 are entered as foreign-born or children of foreign parents. Here then, the reader will say, is cause for encouragement. Perhaps so. Worcester is a large city, and a very busy one, employing much skilled as well as unskilled labor. One might well conclude from the face of these returns that the native stock is still asserting itself in this section. Unfortunately, however, there is other data which must be considered. Worcester has long been the seat of certain important European groups, and the earlier foreign-speaking immigrants are now contributing their grandchildren to the schools. These are listed as American children of American stock.

I take occasion to mention the distinction between American children of the older native stock and the American children who are the grandchildren of foreigners, before concluding my reference to Worcester in order to warn the inquirer. What is true regarding the personnel of native school children in this city will be true to a degree in the average industrial center. This being so, the individual who wishes to advise himself in regard to the character of the coming generation, should carefully scrutinize all the tabulations of so-called American children, and ascertain the proportion of these who are of recent foreign

lineage. If he does so in Worcester he will find that the early European emigration was from racial groups like the Scandinavian, which have a culture similar to that of the long resident Anglo-Saxon. There has, therefore, been assimilation in this splendid city, while in others it has been proceeding but haltingly. I not infrequently meet in the audiences which I have been permitted to address, persons who have surrounded themselves with children and grandchildren since coming to this country, but who are still ignorant in regard to the English language and American customs. Such conditions in the home handicap the young American. It is worthy of comment that the excellent Administration in charge of the Worcester schools is studying this problem to good purpose. As will readily be presumed from the size of the school population referred to, a number of the public buildings which shelter the pupils are located in foreign neighborhoods. Some of these are "almost exclusively Italian," and there are three which are largely Scandinavian.

Inasmuch as I am endeavoring to present all the facts that space permits, and to avoid prejudice, it seems well at this juncture after calling attention to the great number of children that hail from foreign colonies in New England schools, to instance a case, by no means exceptional, in which the children are making a fine record. I am therefore citing Providence, R. I. While it

appears from printed data that the school population of the City must include a very large percentage of children from foreign homes, the latter are popular. This is a matter of import, and deserves to be stressed. According to the Director of Research and Guidance, several of the school edifices are located in the so-called "colonies." Thus—80% of the pupils of the Ezek Hopkins School, the Veazie Street School, and the Federal Street School are Italians, and more than one-half of the pupils of the Laurel Avenue School, and the George J. West School are of the same race. There are Jews, Syrians, and Armenians, in the Thomas A. Doyle School, the Candace Street School, and the Point Street School. The authorities have in hand matter showing the distribution of intelligence in the sixth and eighth grades of these so-called foreign schools, and I am informed that the teachers in the buildings referred to find that the foreign children are more responsive and appreciative in return for the attention given them by their instructors, than are the American children.

I am throwing out these crumbs of comfort for those who are apprehensive as to the future. At the same time this data will serve other purposes. It is highly complimentary to the teachers of these special districts, and most discreditable to the American children. As has already been pointed out in these pages, there is cause to be-

lieve that the Yankee stock in New England is passing, not only because it is being outnumbered by the foreign element in its midst, but because of its unhappy decadence.

Providence, like Boston, is avoiding classification in the foreign groups. It is otherwise with New Britain, Connecticut, which publishes charts which can be studied to great advantage not only in New England but in other parts of the country. One of these tabulations classifies the children of different ages, indicating whether they come from English-speaking homes or from non-English speaking homes, and thus provides us with a new inlook upon the race problem in New England. Of the total of 10,742 children 7,334 are the children of parents born abroad, and a large percentage of the small children, with the exception of the babes of kindergarten age, are from non-English speaking homes. A study of the information thus provided indicates that the native element continues its schooling longer than the foreigners. This is all to the good, if we are to believe the educational experts of the hour. I am not sure that I am altogether of this mind. If the foreign-speaking child, who is born with the same capacity as that of the moderately endowed Yankee pupil, leaves school before the latter, I am inclined to think that according to American standards, whether false or not, he will win out in the long run. We are a commercial people. Success

means profits in business. While a fair percentage of the youth who finish college and professional courses achieve great distinction, a large majority of those without special aptitude or enterprise have to content themselves with a moderate income and comparative obscurity. Early youth is the time for imagination and the cultivation of the spirit of adventure. The average child needs this impulse to get a fair start. Boys and girls who mature early fag out before they are twenty-five and fail to become features in the general picture. The "everyday" individual, be he of foreign or American blood, who at an early age puts himself in line with the opportunities offered in this country for achievement, may go far.

Nine-tenths of the children in three of the largest schools of Manchester, N. H., come from homes where English is not the native language. The majority of the children in four or five other large schools live in such an environment. I am informed by competent authorities that only four-ninths of the people in Manchester use the English language, whatever their racial beginnings. It is not surprising that the schools have so strong a foreign character. I regret to say that letter after letter lies upon my desk bearing evidence to the fact that many Superintendents of Schools have not thought this foreign problem (of such vital interest to New England), worthy of the consideration it deserves. I can easily under-

stand why School Committees with certain prejudices should avoid publication of returns which emphasize the difference in racial stocks attending their schools, but I do not understand why educators should not insist that they be provided with this sort of memoranda for their own consideration.

New Haven, Conn., takes a Census of its schools every year, and carefully indicates the nationality of the pupils. It frankly states that the aim is to find the ancestral stock of the children. If the Yankee of New England still represented on educational Boards was not losing his grip, this would be the case in many another community. As for New Haven, it does not hesitate to affirm in print that many of its schools are located in foreign neighborhoods. Thus it has Russian schools, Italian schools, schools in which the Polish people are large factors; mixed schools consisting of children of Italian, Negro, Jewish and Greek parentage. The Superintendent of Schools pays a high compliment to these coming Americans, testifying to the fact that while they have little experience in the use of English, they are eager and quick to learn. All this is to the good as far as humanity is concerned. It is an unhappy fact that the latter part of the tribute does not characterize the average native child of native ancestry.

Have I wandered too far afield in my attempt to gather material regarding the children in our

New England schools? Perhaps not. It is a difficult task to present sufficient figures to illustrate an important point of the nature here discussed, without intruding upon the office of the statistician. Meantime our inquiry is too important to permit the hazarding of statements which are unsupported by facts. Few among the numerous schools in New England are without individuality. While they may be classified, even the most astute analyst will find it difficult to do credit to every neighborhood. Without attempting to generalize or particularize, I have taken a snapshot of conditions in certain notable school centers. It is my observation that the individual who becomes acquainted with these will have a cross-section of the more populated parts of New England. If the facts are found to be correct, I do not think that any one can avoid conclusions which tend to show that the New England of tomorrow is to be so vastly different from the New England of today as to stagger the imagination.

We oldsters accustom ourselves to seeing our own children and the children of neighbors who live in select neighborhoods, move to and from the schools which are located in the immediate vicinity of our homes. Few of us visit these centers of instruction, and we never enter the doors of schoolhouses which cater to the larger part of the population. If we were to do the

latter in this year of Our Lord Nineteen hundred and twenty-six we would be startled at the contrast which exists between their present occupants and the schoolmates of long ago. Heaven only knows what an observer who visits the same schools a score of years hereafter will find. It is not for us to dwell upon this now.

I have undertaken in this Chapter to indicate certain sources from which evidence, not thus far offered, may be drawn to show the passing of the New England of our fathers. Had I confined myself to the study of the adult population of the six Northeastern States, the cynic might have captiously challenged me to prove that the alien peoples of New England were here to stay.

Instead of attempting to do this, I have drawn a rapid pen picture of the men and women, now just out of babyhood, who will be administering the affairs of New England in a few years. Bunched in the schoolhouses, they are not without interest. Crowded in the streets of the foreign colonies to which they return at night for their play, they are not without fascination. Bowing before appreciative audiences on graduation days, they are speaking of this one-time Puritan land as their home. Garbed in the curious costumes of their European progenitors, bearing the Stars and Stripes, on anniversary days they make a pageant that is all color and light. Thronged choruses of them are singing—"My Country 'tis of Thee"—

with an intensity that is altogether bewitching. They have not travelled as their fathers and mothers have travelled. They know nothing of the United States outside of the locality in which they live. To them, Lawrence, Mass., Pawtucket, R. I., New Haven, Conn., Manchester, N. H., Westbrook, Maine, and Burlington, Vt., is "My Country." They have already laid plans for their future, and these plans do not include the trekking into a far country.

These are the successors of the Yankee. Only the most virile of the latter's children can hope to compete with them. The time is very short in which the remnant of the Yankee generation now passing, can transmit sacred trusts to these children of sometime strangers. Never did a *remnant* pass a finer heritage, or one better adapted to meet world problems. Remnant though it be, it still has sons and daughters who embody the finest characteristics of their forebears. If these sons and daughters are not lacking in virility, they will assert leadership in the new mixed population of their homeland, and so doing, will be warmly welcomed by a great magnetic following. It is through this medium that the "passing remnant" can transmit the proud traditions of the past.

CHAPTER XXI

THE IMMIGRANT IN THE SADDLE

THERE is no historic evidence that men and women think politically, except under awful stress. They muddle through war and financial disaster because they must, or perish. At such times what is one man's concern is everybody's concern.

Solve the exigency and there is a frightful relapse. "Shall we not return to our muttons, neighbor?" That is the general spirit, and matters of state are left to the hireling. This is how in America we have reconstruction periods, humanitarian legislation to coerce (not help) God into a realization of his beneficent plans, and drives for naturalization.

Evidence is lacking, at least evidence that has come within my ken, which discredits the assertion that *men and women do not think politically except under pressure.* This may be economic (whether or not it involves conflict). It may be spiritual when a Nation is possessed by a god, (God I prefer to say) as is the poet or prophet. The assertion is bald, and seems the balder be-

cause it constitutes an arraignment of the species. It will be unpopular with many because, if true, it whips the underpinning from beneath socialism, communism, and such fads. Notwithstanding an unfortunate weakness for silly hypothesis, the scientist has shown the futility of dodging facts. If the assertion states a fact and we are disposed to take our medicine and face unpalatable truths, we shall better understand the startling changes which have swept over—are sweeping over New England.

Assuming that we are so disposed, I submit (1) That New England as an entity in the period commencing shortly after the year 1880 no longer possessed the spiritual concepts which brought it peace at heart and fame in the Colonial period, and made it a flaming torch in the van of the new nation. Gold had crowded out God. *There was no pressure from within to compel it to think politically. That is an upstanding fact!* (2) That in the aforesaid period there was no such economic exigency (war or other threatened calamity), as rounds up the human herd which is unpossessed by Divinity, and necessitates mobilized thought. *There was no pressure from without to compel New England to think politically. There is another fact!* The facts being as stated the Yankee, following hard after material prosperity expunged himself from New England by substituting other racial stocks.

We have watched the preliminaries of the process, the zest for trade created in the commercial mind, the wholesale invitations sent across seas for immigrant labor to man new factories, the utilization of brokers dealing in human commodity, and the consequent incrowding of the immigrant. If New England was using its brain at all in this matter-of-fact period, it is most probable that it argued itself into believing that in due course there would be a recession of the immigrant tide. New Englanders like those who engineered the Trans-continental railroads, had witnessed the manner in which mighty herds of buffalo had located for a time in some wide-spreading mountain valley before migrating to the plains, and vice versa. Why should not these human herds withdraw in obedience to an economic law, and after serving the purposes of a present exigency?

New England farmers had not forgotten their bee-lore. Those who were best informed in regard to these intelligent insects knew that it is more difficult to hold a colony than to capture a swarm. While they did not participate in any benefit arising from immigration, they found no more occasion for bestirring themselves than in matters which had to do with the weather. Clouds which retarded the crops came, but they also went in due course, and it remained for the wise man to possess himself in due patience. The

agriculturist knew that the inhabitants of Europe were being lured into nearby cities, but he expected the stranger after "tarrying a little" to move on.

These comments are suggestive only. The fact is, as we have found, that both the sophisticated industrialist and the easy-going farmer absolutely ignored the political situation which was developing. There were a few alarm shouts from men and women of vision, but these in the beginning were so inconsequential that they had been and continued to be unnoticed by the professional historian.

It is our duty now to inquire into the manner in which the Yankee, having delivered his possessions into the physical custody of a stranger, hastened to make the latter his *legal master*. This we may best do by informing ourselves in regard to the country-wide campaign for naturalization in which the Yankee vigorously participated.

Up to the beginning of the Twentieth Century the alien was an alien. The native spoke of the stranger as an "*I*talian," or, if the native happened to be of Celtic descent, as an "Oitalian." To a New Englander the Germans were "Dutch," and the Slavs "Rooshians." The bosses had their own vernacular, although they were not overcareful in their use of the racial cognomen which they had created. To some of these the Jew was a "Sheeney," the Pole a "Wop," and the Italian

a "Dago." "Have you seen the sun (son) rise?" queried the popular comedian of that day. Saying this, he was accustomed to point out a swarthy son of Italy, who had been seated on a soap box in the rear of the stage to serve the purpose of dramatic art, and who now rose and disappeared behind the wings—"No," was the answer, "but I have seen the day go (dago)."

Some industrial interlocutors knew the difference between the Latin and the Slavic peoples. The average boss did not, and the words "Wop," "Dago," etc., were interchangeable and applicable to any foreigner.

The first decade of the new century brought a sweeping change. The children of the aliens had become natives, and many of the sometime aliens had now on their own initiative become naturalized citizens. Heretofore the alert but short-sighted industrialist had turned to advantage the necessities of foreign labor, and while well-meaning himself, had paved the way for exploitation. In all this, as we are now discovering, because of some law of God, which humanity yet fails to sense, he had been assiduously toiling for the ultimate wrecking of his own family fortune.

We have marked the way in which the humanist, to be followed in course by the industrialist, broke away from restraint and dared anything and everything in the physical as well as the moral world. We are now to notice the manner in which

the unbalanced politician and the social worker followed the manufacturer in his wild haste to foul his own nest. The times under discussion are notable because of mighty struggles between the Republicans and the Democrats. The former still feeling the urge of the Civil War refused to be convinced by the Cleveland Administrations that the Democratic party was other than a menace. To the mind of its leaders every available vote must be garnered. The naturalization of a carefully instructed foreigner meant a vote, and therefore Republican political bosses began with ardor to exploit this field. On the other hand the Democratic leader of the new era had tasted blood in two Administrations, and wanted more. He was no longer bothered with Jacksonian simplicities. A sagacious opportunist, he saw a chance of drawing much of value from the Republican ranks by championing centralist measures that would have frightened a "dyed in the wool" Federalist of Hamilton's ilk. Partly successful in luring the Mugwump element by such bait, he yet needed other votes and found in the foreign colonies an untouched crop! It is true that the Republican-Democratic lines (the rank and file), had developed heretical tendencies, but desire to effectively manhandle each other, as well as party élan kept them together in pushing the programs of their chiefs. Meantime the regular parties were no longer to divide the spoil with-

out "let or hindrance!" The women's movement, advocates of temperance, labor, and socialist aggregations had long been embarrassed because the available electorate had been parcelled out before their campaigns were initiated. To these the endless tribes of Nomadic invaders were nothing more nor less than recruits sent by Providence to swell their meagre forces. The European newcomer was without traditions. His kind could not be counted for number, and the places in which he colonized were at hand. About them, while studying ways and means to secure pelts, hungry statesmen gathered as wolves around a sheepfold.

Never did such an opportunity to secure a following awake militant theorist and irreconcilable egoist. These therefore vied with the regulars in urging legislation which would permit naturalization. This by necessity if their interest in public welfare is to be gauged by personal revenues or popular acclaim. By choice in all other cases. Nothing in contemporary literature indicates that professional party vote-getters knew or cared where the road led upon which they were treading when they created facilities for passing aliens through the citizenship mill. "Theirs not to reason why," theirs but to secure enough suffrages to help their party "over the top."

With this temper dominant in all sections, and among all political groups, Congress was bound

to be obliging and department bureaus responsive. Established organizations were not lacking in funds to provide printed matter calculated to make an informed American citizen out of any sort of a foreigner. Adventurers in politics who advocated systems antagonistic to those of the Federal Constitution were "short" in money but "long" in the sort of material which the people they harangued wished to have. Capital had a compelling way with employees, and labor partisans did not have to stir out of their own fellowship to mobilize armies of workingmen who could readily be made eligible for citizenship. No sooner, therefore, had the new immigration gotten well under way than cunningly devised machinery, operated by clever manipulators, commenced to feed it into the body politic with enthusiasm worthy of a better cause.

Pour a cupful of ink into a crystal globe that has heretofore contained nothing but water. The latter may be limpid, clouded, or nothing more nor less than soapy dishwater. It will be found that a very small quantity of ink will thoroughly discolor the sphere, and that the greater the infusion, the blacker the element will become. You may still call the contents of the globe, water, but you certainly would not wish to use it for washing and many other purposes for which it once had been serviceable. It may not at first seem fair to compare such an experiment as is

suggested to what has happened in the American body politic, but I doubt if any can deny that the two are analogous.

I assume that it is unnecessary for me to cite instances in which the political drag-net has been used to provide its operators with votes. New England readers of this book have long been familiar with the processes that are here referred to, and perhaps have participated in citizen hunts. They will quickly correct any mis-statement of contemporary facts. Meantime the literateur who has lacked colorful material for his pen will find humor and tragedy in this field. "Lady—she say," urged a swarthy Italian who was confiding his plans to me, "that now by the law I sign paper, and it is done, I am citizen!" In this particular case there was moral fitness for the franchise, but great ignorance as to the method of acquirement and the responsibilities entailed. I relate the incident not to bring the poor aspirant into ridicule, but to indicate the insouciant way in which the ingenuous volunteer vote-getter or misguided uplifter approaches a serious proposition.

This is one extreme, the villainous ward-heeler who provides candidates for the franchise in blocks, is the other. Little does it matter to him whether the immigrant is going back to his family in Europe, is a refugee from justice, or a knave. If he can be taught to gurgle or click off the Shibboleth in Court, it is sufficient. The agent

cares nothing for fitness when he shapes his material so that it will pass the scrutiny of the vigilant naturalization officer, or qualify before an overworked justice. All he wants is a double fee, one from his employer, the other from the victim who is taught that citizenship once bought will open the doors of opportunity. The ward-heeler is also a padrone, a steamship agent, perhaps a banker in a small way. By various artifices he has already transferred to his own pocket the balance of his fellow-countryman's (mark you, he too was born abroad), wealth. He has exploited his labor, and now he uses him to bait his hook. Pah! Let a man be ever so talented, he can never fitly characterize the international rascal who makes America his home.

So much for the political groups which have taken upon themselves the task of converting New England as well as the rest of industrial America into a European hotchpot. So much for their motives and methods! Without attempting to recall how the sociologist swung into line, we are now to give some attention to the manner in which immigrants have accepted the urgent invitation of natives to take over the political direction of the sections in which they are resident. I think of no better way of doing this than by setting before the reader some extraordinary figures printed by the World's Almanac of 1925. The first of these to be presented point out that in

the year 1907, 73,723 immigrants entered declarations; 21,094 filed petitions; and 1,953 took out certificates. Quite a number of declarations, but mighty few issued certificates! 1907 it will be remembered was the year of the greatest immigration to the United States. The above figures show a sudden and inexplicable change of front in the attitude of incoming foreigners. Prior to 1907 newcomers indicated little disposition to venture the steps which would crown them citizens. A fair proportion had left Europe to escape military service, and were exceedingly shy of taking on new allegiance. It is presumable that if they could have read the meaning of the warclouds then blackening over Europe, their shyness would have been accentuated in the coming years. As it was the following data which I think may be used as reflecting conditions in New England as well as in the rest of the country, indicate that candidates for the franchise could hardly have anticipated the crass mobilization measures which swept them into the armies of the United States in 1917–1918. However that may be, beginning with 1908 foreigners in this country appear to have broken ranks and made a rush for citizenship. No one, I presume, believes that this was on their own initiative. If there are those who are credulous, it will be well for them to examine such records (still available), as I am adverting to hereafter. In the meantime let us mark first the

manner in which declarations and certificates increased to the period of the Great War, and the relation which these bore to each other; and, second, the significant changes which occurred in these declarations, petitions and certificates after 1914.

In the year 1908, with greatly reduced immigration, there were nearly twice as many declarations, and twice as many petitions filed as there were in the year before. This would appear to indicate that either the great body of foreigners had become suddenly conscious that American citizenship might serve their ends, or that they were acting under pressure exerted by influences on this side of the water.

In 1910 there were 169,348 declarations, an increase of more than 30,000; 55,750 petitions, about one-third as many as there were declarations; and 39,448 certificates. More immigrants entered than in 1908, and the number of those who registered and of those who were admitted to citizenship is not out of proportion to the increase in newcomers.

In 1912, with a falling-off of more than 400,000 immigrants from the high mark of 1907 there were 95,380 petitions, and 70,310 certificates. It will be noted that business is speeding up the naturalization mill, and whereas the best record for the foregoing five years which had seen the beginnings of the new crusade showed that the

petitions did not average much better than one-third of the declarations, now these applications for admission to citizenship number more than one-half of the declarations, and the certificates issued are one-third of the declarations. In 1908 the certificates were less than one-fifth of the declarations.

1914—Bang! This is the year when William ruined Belgium, while aiming a nasty blow at France. Everybody on this side of the Atlantic is shaken up. Merchants are examining their stock with a view to adjusting themselves to conditions. Manufacturers are cabling across water for first-hand information as to the needs of Europe, and the hearts of mothers throughout America are sinking with fear lest their beloved be caught in the awful maelstrom that is awhir in the East. Seldom has America known such a stir. Patriotic men and women are on the *qui vive* with anxiety that the Republic shall square with its traditions. The far-sighted ones, realizing that a triumph for the Junkers will block the spread if it does not threaten the maintenance of free institutions, can with difficulty be restrained from leaping into the saddle. Students of international law who know of the manner in which compacts providing for the neutralization of Belgium have been scrapped, and who realize the significance of the Nation's commitments, find it impossible for America to maintain her honor and remain at peace.

These are indeed times to stir men's souls, but in the very surge and movement of the hour all the black and loathsome dregs of the Nation's life are caught by sinister currents and whirled toward the top. Here is a chance for the craven alien who does not know the meaning of love of country—instead of speeding back to Italy, England, Belgium, Russia and the Balkan States from which he came—to save his skin by pledging allegiance to the United States. To such the Stars and Stripes take on a new beauty. Now is the time for the low-down politician, the communistic social-worker, the international uplifter, and the wooley-minded busy-bodies to secure votes for party, for fad, and for money.

"There shall come a day," says the Scriptures, "in which your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." This is the day which the internationalist who has long foreseen the truce of God and who is long on everything but an appreciation of the duty he bears to his forebears, has been visualizing. He has wished to scrap national frontiers, and stir the nations together in a horrid murky mass. Now is his chance! Hardly had the American people had time to put to rights their domestic affairs than good-for-nothing aliens and the sort of Americans whom the Republic would be better off without, struck hands in coalition, and the citizenship roll grows.

In 1914 there were 214,104 declarations (nearly 77,000 more than in 1908; 32,000 more than in the prior year); 124,475 petitions, and 104,145 certificates. The latter was fifty times the number of certificates issued in 1907. Some of these people were probably caught in the mobilization dragnet of 1917. Many are doubtless now working double allegiance in such a way as will be profitable to themselves. Some may have returned to their native shores without recording the fact, but presumably the mass, an appreciable part being in New England, is still with us, and is casting votes on election day.

So much for the period ending with the beginning of the World War. Since that time the Republic has courted disaster by permitting the ward-heeler and the trafficer in franchise, the distressed military chieftain, and the visionary to work their will. The politician has grown rich. The soldier, finding his cantonment swamped by recruits of all nationalities pulled in by the Provost Marshal's drag-net, has shrieked for such naturalization of this motley following as might help him perform his duties, and the idealist, given full rope, has rioted to his heart's content.

In 1917 there were 440,651 declarations, 130,865 petitions, and 88,104 certificates. In 1921 there were 177,898 petitions and 164,656 certificates. I record the high point in each movement. From 1908 to 1915, inclusive, there were 1,440,000

declarations, 636,000 petitions, 486,000 certificates. From 1916 to 1923, inclusive, there were 2,553,000 declarations, 1,025,000 petitions, and 936,000 certificates. No one doubts that a percentage of these new Americans will make worthier citizens than those who have continued to accelerate the naturalization of aliens. Few believe that the body politic has been strengthened by the accession of the majority of these strangers.

The above are National figures. I intended to supplement them with similar compilations for New England, but I have not found the latter available. Those who know the manner in which New England participates in all dubious so-called forward movements of the hour will take it for granted that the people of this section have done, are doing, and probably will continue to do all in their power to speed up stimulated naturalization. Testimony as to the success of their efforts is to be found in current compilations. These indicate that in 1920 nearly one-quarter of the whole voting male population in the three industrial states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, were foreign-born naturalized citizens. This means that there are as many foreign-born males using the franchise in Southern New England as there are native male voters in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. The above conclusions are reached without giving consideration to the foreign-born persons who have ex-

pressed a desire to become citizens by filing first papers. [1]

Viewed from a certain angle these returns seem startling. To my mind they are principally valuable as indicating the unholy zeal with which the older population has thrown itself into a campaign which is curtailing its political influence, and threatening its traditions. To state the ugly truth, these hundreds of thousands of naturalized foreign-born voters are but a part of an electorate which reacts to foreign influence. This is made up for the most part of so-called native voters who are of foreign parentage, and who have a European lilt to their minds. So constituted, it controls the political destinies of New England.

It would perhaps have been profitable if we had more particularly discussed in this Chapter the character of this strangely assorted block which will shortly hold a whip-hand over the descendants of the English-speaking stock. Inasmuch as my narrative has been one of conquest, it has seemed better to give available space to an examination of influences which have brought about existing conditions.

While I have been derelict in presenting evidence regarding the number of foreigners naturalized in New England for each year since the open-

[1] The whole male voting population in New England in 1920 was 1,762,381. Of these 368,450 were foreign-born naturalized citizens. 128,790 foreign-born persons had filed first papers.

ing of the century, I am quite fortunate in being able to present returns, which have been furnished me by the courtesy of a careful student of this subject. In the year 1923–1924 citizenship was granted to people of more than twenty different nationalities resident in New England. In this year the following number of persons were naturalized in the six states which have our attention, viz;—

In Maine	501
" New Hampshire	477
" Vermont	163
" Massachusetts	7,592
" Rhode Island	1,714
" Connecticut	2,704
Total	13,151

To sum up—the year June 30, 1923—June 30, 1924, provided New England with 13,151 new voters to help (sic) this section solve problems which are embarrassing its citizenry.

CHAPTER XXII

FATE—VITAL STATISTICS

THIS Chapter has to do with Vital Statistics. The flippant Yankee has long been uneasy about the future of his people. The serious-minded Yankee has been appalled by swift decay of the clan with which he is identified. We are now to examine data which will justify the apprehensions of the shallow, and which pronounces the over-hanging doom which the seer has already sensed.

Town, State and Section statistics, with appalling vividness, present the finger of God smudging out the Yankee. Their message is unequivocal. Death is claiming the Anglo-Saxon stock, and Life is coaxing into being an enormous immigrant progeny. In the mysterious march of humanity out of the dark that precedes birth into the dark of death, there are dramatic moments, notable cycles, extraordinary eras. Prolific periods pile up populations. Famine, pestilence, and war waste peoples once vigorous. Economic conditions strangle or exalt races. In reverential times it was thought that God thus expressed his beneficence or his displeasure. This era, befud-

dled with learning, satisfies itself with digging out the near cause.

Thus it comes about that those who read are informed in painful treatises what the intelligent have always accepted as primary that nations and racial groups are the immediate arbiters of their fortunes. France becomes sophisticated or Godless, phrase it as you will, and her sons refuse to bother with families. Less Frenchmen are born to distribute French ideas. Germany waxes militant and sacrifices her progeny to Bellona. Thereafter for a time there are less Germans to flout generalizations, and putter with analysis.

We have seen the people of New England emigrating in ever-increasing swarms to a receding West, and packing with aliens the country which had helped to make them important. In themselves these events and policies go very far toward explaining the changes which have been wrought in this section. *But another and notable cause must be taken into consideration. One which has to do with the intimate life of the Yankee strain.* Populations shift by processes within as well as from processes without. I presume that others have thought the whole matter through, and fully expressed themselves. Not being familiar with their conclusions, I intrude the suggestion—that *a moral race with a spiritual objective, which is possessed of enough restraint to prefer sufficiency to wealth, will survive.* This means of course that

a race otherwise minded will decay and disappear. The modern Yankee has been otherwise minded.

The faculty of the pioneer, whose imagination shapes countries he has never seen, visualizes growing crops on land now clothed with heavy timber, and finds future comfort in the rigor of present effort—to multiply his progeny goes far toward proving the primary assertion. It is unnecessary to recite cases to bulwark the antithetical conclusion.

Although I am tempted to discuss more at large the matter thus advanced, I shall refrain from doing so. It would bring us I fear to ugly conclusions, and might lead far afield. It is for me to collate facts which are germane to my inquiry without considering at length the qualities that control the future of tribes or clans of humans who are not now under consideration. Of these facts none are more important than those furnished by the Birth and Death Records of the New England States. There is no other data which as conclusively show what a Nation or a gens is doing to itself. The vital statistics of a race reflect its objective and point with accuracy to its fate.

What say the Vital Statistics of New England? First and emphatically—that the Puritan stock has lost interest in itself, and its mission is waning. Any fool who is familiar with the cynicism of its ineffectives, or the gold lust of its fit residuum,

might have guessed this. Here is a case in which figures speak with grim finality—and close the case. Second—that the mixed many-tongued peoples now in control of the land by raising large families, are providing a living bulwark to guard their possessions. It is unfortunate that a false sense of economy as in the matter of Census returns, has guided the policy of some of the New England States in failing to promptly print returns of their vital statistics. Meantime not one of these Commonwealths has neglected this important field of activity, and Massachusetts is already distributing its mortality figures for 1924. It follows that while I am not in a position in many instances to refer to data which I understand to have been gathered but not published, I have by me besides the full official record for Massachusetts for 1923, the Report of Maine for the year 1921, of New Hampshire for the years 1922 and 1923, of Rhode Island for the year 1922, of Connecticut for the year 1918, and of Vermont for the years 1922 and 1923. Inasmuch as all these tabulations, whatever the year, tell the same story, there is evidence and to spare for present use. Those who hope that summaries yet unpublished will indicate that tendencies here adverted to are being checked can look them up as they appear. Such, however, must bear in mind two facts which cannot be too much stressed.

1. A fair percentage of the so-called native or

native-born population of New England is, and for several years has been, of *recent* foreign derivation; and

2. The so-called native stock is more deeply dyed by foreign color *with each succeeding year.*

Shall we now turn to the official record, starting with the Northern New England States, which we have already found to contain a large share of the Yankee stock which is still resident in the *homeland.* In 1921 the State of Maine reported 17,717 births. Of these 11,780 were of pure American parentage, which means that each parent was born in America—nothing more. In the same year there were 2,535 children born of parents both of whom were foreign, and 3,388 born of mixed parentage—the number of children having at least one foreign parent being 5,923. It thus appears that there were half as many children of part foreign parentage as there were children of so-called natives. In 1921 the deaths in Maine aggregated 10,875. Of these 9,145 were "American," and only 1,656 foreign.

I shall later draw some simple conclusions from the fact that the foreign element in all the New England States is far more prolific than the so-called native stock, and that the American element is unhappily prominent in the mortality tables. In the meantime we will find it advantageous to contrast conditions in selected rural and urban counties.

Figures follow for Maine.

Cumberland County contains Portland and Westbrook, thickly settled centers. The births among the American element were only 359 in excess of the deaths—while the foreign element showed an increase, after accounting for mortality of 679.

Androscoggin County contains Lewiston and Auburn. Here the American element increased 2, and the foreign 601.

York County contains Saco. The American element increased 28, and the foreign element 481.

While this process, highly favorable to the recent European stock was going on in manufacturing centers, the American sections present data which is quite as significant.

Lincoln County reported 208 deaths as against 240 births in its American group, and 8 deaths against 24 births in its meager foreign element, a gain of 16 individuals with recent foreign antecedents, as against an increase of 32 among the Anglo-Saxons.

Waldo County reported 317 deaths against 379 births in its American group, and 11 deaths against 25 births in its foreign representation—a gain of 14 individuals for the foreign element as against an increase of 62 Americans.

Kennebec County, more populous than Waldo and Lincoln, reported 876 deaths as against 845 births in its American group, and 140 deaths

against 473 births in its foreign element—a gain of 333 individuals with recent foreign antecedents against a loss of 31 among the Anglo-Saxons.

It will be noticed that the three counties taken at random from among those which are still predominantly native, added 363 souls to their foreign colonies through natural increase, while the American population because of the high death rate numbered but 63 more than at the close of the preceding year.

Passing now to New Hampshire, and referring to the Vital Statistics of two successive periods, viz.—1922 and 1923 the whole number of births and deaths for the State were as follows:

	Births	Deaths	Gain
1922	9,749	6,533	3,216
1923	9,306	6,744	2,562

Separated so as to show the births and deaths in the so-called American and in the foreign group, we have the following, viz.—

	American			Foreign		
	Births	Deaths	Gain	Births	Deaths	Gain
1922	5,320	4,963	357	4,234	1,330	2,904
1923	5,144	5,095	49	3,978	1,416	2,562

The first chart which deals with the total returns, as far as natural causes are concerned, shows a shrinkage in the population of New Hampshire. The second table explains the change. *The American stock is dying off.* Meantime in this particular case the foreign element is slacking up in its birth rate—a phenomenon which could be explained by the growing conservatism of new peoples, as their economic condition improves, if the tabulations did not show a considerable drop in the number of births where both parents were foreign. It may therefore be assumed that in New Hampshire either the new immigration law or industrial conditions favored the temporary outgoing rather than the incoming of recent immigrants.

So much for the comparison of successive years. For my purpose the only service rendered by placing the figures for 1922 and 1923 in juxtaposition is to show the consistency with which two mighty forces, working from within, are changing the personnel of the population. Death is now removing the Yankee more swiftly than the lure to adventure in distant lands which encourages emigration. *The law of reproduction, working without restraint among recent newcomers, not yet restrained by the artificialities of sophisticated society, threatens to supply more recruits for New England than immigration.*

Figures follow to illustrate conditions in a typi-

cal industrial County, and in typical rural counties of New Hampshire. Hillsborough County contains Manchester and Nashua. The births among the American element were only 49 in excess of the deaths, while the foreign element showed an increase after accounting for mortality, of 3,562. Carroll County is rural. The American element lost 17 souls, and the foreign element gained 10. Sullivan County is rural. The American element gained 13 souls, and the foreign element gained 131.

Vermont, the last of the three Northern States, is frankly native in complexion. Unfortunately for Americans, who look to the hills for succor, it plays a more important part in its agricultural returns than in matters affecting the personnel of New England. In 1920 its whole population was but 352,428. This is less than one-eighth of the foreign white stock of the neighboring State of Massachusetts. Moreover, the vital statistics as collated from year to year indicate that the resident population is at a standstill. In 1857 there were, using round numbers, some 6,300 births, and 3,500 deaths. At no time since in a period of 65 years has the number of births reached 8,000. In 1870 long before Vermont realized that the European immigrant was looking this way there were more births (7,463), than in 1923, when 7,338 babies were born. Meantime with births lagging—deaths have made notable increase.

In 1857 these numbered 3,500. In 1923 the total is 5,600. In 1857 there were some 2,800 more births than deaths. In 1923 the gain was 1,716, and none of the returns in the intervening years counteract the impression given one who marks these results. Vermont, a Yankee stronghold, is losing rather than winning ground.

I regret that I am unable, as is the case with other New England States, to offer figures showing the proportion of deaths to be allotted to the foreign population. The figures are not available. There is no question, however, but that the immigrant group is more than holding its own. It numbers over 123,000. In both 1922 and 1923 the foreign and mixed foreign and American births were more than 2,000, or nearly as many proportionately as those accredited to the American group, which registered in the neighborhood of 5,000 births for each year. Here is a normal increase for the native and the outlander. Meantime the mortality charts of Vermont offer direct evidence, although the origin of the decedent is not given, that a large plurality of the deaths may be accredited to natives. In the first place these are largely assigned to towns and villages to which the foreigner has not penetrated. In the second place the age charts are reasonably conclusive. Newcomers to America are in the main youthful, and recent immigration did not touch Vermont until after 1890. Bearing this

fact in mind we find that 3,662 of the 5,389 deaths in 1923 were of persons over 50 years of age, and all but 555 of these were over 60 years of age. It is not unreasonable to conclude from this that in Vermont as well as elsewhere in New England death is laying a heavy hand on the older population. Figures follow for a County which is interested in industry, and for rural sections. The date 1923 is selected.

Rutland is the most populous County in Vermont. It contains the Town of Proctor which has many foreigners, and the City of Rutland. American births numbered 669, and foreign or mixed births were 286. There were 720 deaths. The average age of the decedents was 54.5. It is hardly probable that the vigorous alien element furnished a large percentage of these deaths.

Grand Isle is rural, and has the smallest population of any County in Vermont. There were 66 American births, and 13 foreign. There were 39 deaths. The average age of decedents was 61.6.

Chittenden County is populous, but outside of the City of Burlington it is largely rural. Here the American births numbered 828, and births of foreign or mixed parentage 323. There were 694 deaths, the average age of the decedent being 48.8.

Windham County is rural. The American births were 446. Those of the foreign or mixed parentage were 95. The deaths were 541, the average age of the decedent being 66.6.

It is easier to climb a mountain that lifts by easy stages than one which rises precipitately from the sea. It is good practice, therefore, if one is to adventure among the high Alps to try out his muscles and powers of endurance on the mountain which is reached by the growing swell of successive ridges. If fatigue follows, it will not be of the sort which annihilates one's sense of proportion as is the case when one attempts to scale an eminence for which he is not duly prepared. I imagine that the reader who is good enough to persist in threading his way with me, an unskilled guide, over and through accumulated figures, will maintain a better sense of proportion than would have been the case had I followed a different method. We might have commenced our inquiry as to the significance of the vital statistics gathered by the New England States by considering the figures offered by Massachusetts or Connecticut. In this case it is not improbable that, impressed by the extraordinary changes being wrought in these communities, we should have lost our sense of perspective, and drawn unwarranted conclusions. As matters stand, we have accustomed ourselves by a survey of country districts to the working of vital processes which must awe the alien as well as the native. At the same time, being now informed as to conditions in the wide rural spaces of the North, which are less sensational than those now

to be reviewed, we shall not visualize all New England as facing the immediate problems that affect its industrial South.

For the year 1923 Massachusetts reported an increase of 36,830 souls. There were 89,210 births and 52,380 deaths. This return indicates that the Commonwealth controls facilities which encourage the natural and healthy increase of a large population. The following table assigns the births and deaths to the foreign and American groups respectively, and indicates gain and loss;—

1923	Births	Deaths	Gain
American.................	40,035	34,340	5,695
Foreign and Mixed........	49,155	17,731	31,424
Total................	89,190	52,071	

Three points are to be emphasized in reviewing the figures thus submitted.

1. Nearly three-fourths of the foreign and mixed births are from parents both of whom were foreign and from the Continent of Europe.

2. Native returns not only include the long-time resident Irish and French-Canadian group but American-born progeny of the great concourse of mid-European immigrants which swarmed into Massachusetts factories between 1890 and the opening of the War.

Of exceeding interest in this connection is the comment of the editor of the report which we are about to consider. It is his conclusion that "the proportion of children born of native parents declined from 1890 until 1910, since when the proportion has steadily increased. In 1923 the proportion was 44.9 per cent."; which is to say in effect that the birth rate of the Anglo-Saxon stock was decreasing until 1910, at which date the immigrant reinforcements (now natives), which have made Massachusetts their home, began to contribute substantially to the native birth returns.

3. In spite of notable accessions made to the native contingent by the American-born children of immigrants during the last fifty years, the American birth rate lags behind that of recent foreign origin, and the American death rate far exceeds that which is prevalent among newcomers. Figures follow for specific counties;—

Suffolk County is made up of Boston, Chelsea and Winthrop. For a generation it has been a notable center of the Irish stock now emphatically native-American. Its older sections are and for a long time have been Jewish and Italian. Comparing births and deaths we find that in 1923 the American element, reinforced as above set out, gained only 1,313 souls, while the foreign element gained 7,476.

Essex County is industrial. It contains Law-

rence, Lowell, Lynn and other famous manufacturing centers. The American element gained 334 souls, less than one-tenth of the increase made by the foreigners who added 3,603 souls to their contingent.

Middlesex County is largely industrial. The American increase according to its vital statistics was 903. The foreign and mixed increase was 3,832.

Over against the above counties I offer returns for the less populous or rural sections.

Berkshire is largely rural. The American gain was 466. The foreign gain was 650.

Barnstable County is rural. The American element lost 126 souls, and the foreign element gained 134 souls.

Bristol County is rural. The American element gained 275 souls. The foreign element gained 4,334.

I should like at this juncture to present the vital statistics for various cities in the Bay State, and to contrast them with those which are furnished by the decaying agricultural towns which as yet have proved unattractive to the foreigner. Lack of space, and a conviction that particularization which may be useful to the student, is but reiteration to the general reader, dissuades me from so doing. Perhaps I shall serve the same purpose if I note that according to the Massachusetts compilation—

1. All of the six cities which show the highest birth rates have large foreign colonies, and that five of these are distinctly foreign in character.

2. Nearly two-thirds (65.6%), of the Massachusetts decedents whose nativity was reported in the death certificates in 1923 were native, and 33.8% were foreign.

These two items in a marked manner tend to confirm the conclusion that the newer peoples in Massachusetts are adding to their influence and importance by raising large families, and the English-speaking peoples are dying out. A word as to the latter before we return to such tabulations as are yet to be made.

Through the courtesy of various town officials I have had the opportunity to examine such recent town reports as collate *the names* of decedents. From this material I gather that the great majority of all deaths in Massachusetts are of persons of English-speaking stock, and preponderatingly those of Anglo-Saxons. We have already remarked the fact in regard to other states that in any given year the mortality lists are largely made up of persons over fifty years of age. The affirmation takes on a tragic coloring as the eye glances down the pages of such printed local returns as indicate the origin and age of the decedent. Eliminate the names of those who have died under three score, always in a minority, and you will find that the unhappy balance is almost entirely

made up of Smiths, Jones, Robinsons, and other familiar cognomens, with here and there a Celtic appellation. Eloquent witness that the Celt is following in the footsteps of those whose country and standards he long since made his own.

Conscious that the Anglo-Saxon birth rate is nominal, can we do other than conclude that distinctly American villages in Massachusetts (the same I am sure is true of Connecticut and Rhode Island), will shortly disappear or adjust themselves to new conditions—that the gaps left by the death of persons of British stock in industrial communities can only be filled by the growing increment which is distinctly Continental European.

I do not find in the Vital Statistics of Rhode Island for the year 1922 any record which separates the deaths so as to indicate native and foreign origin. Meanwhile since two-thirds of all deaths were of persons over fifty years of age, we may assume that conditions are not dissimilar to those in the other New England States, which report more fully, and that the majority of decedents are Yankees.

In 1922, 331 children were born to foreign and mixed parents, and 202 were of native parentage. I conclude that the births in the so-called native group are mostly to be assigned to parents whose citizenship is of recent origin. This for reasons that may be adduced from material which has been referred to in earlier Chapters. The whole

State is industrial, and little can be gained by referring to County records. Rhode Island, like Massachusetts, has long been a center for immigration, and the foreign-born, less than one-sixth of its estimated population in 1922, do not account for more than a fraction of the sturdy people of recent European origin who furnish labor for its industries. Mute—but to my mind interesting testimony as to the personnel of its inhabitants is offered in the mortality charts. These place the average age of decedents at about 45 years. In states that have a large American population the average age of decedents is much higher.

The latest available returns from Connecticut are of 1918. These show 37,134 births, and 27,375 deaths. An admirable chart furnished by the Bureau of Vital Statistics presents records since 1848. At no time while the State remained English-speaking, say to 1880, did the births rise much above 14,000. Only once in the same period did the deaths cross the 10,000 limit. From 1870 to 1880 there was little change in either births or deaths. Since the latter date both have increased notably. Records of recent years will show that the majority of the births are in sections markedly foreign, and that death is roughly handling the older American stock.

In 1918 the children born of American parentage numbered 12,591, but the deaths in the native group were 18,018—a loss of 5,427. Children

having both parents foreign exceeded the native-born children by nearly 6,000. Births assigned to foreign and mixed parents aggregated 22,980, while the deaths were only 9,020. This is a gain for the foreign element of 13,960. The definite loss in the Yankee group which is shown by the Connecticut record, and which reflects conditions in sections of Massachusetts and Rhode Island is a matter of great significance. That it has called for little discussion is to my mind the astounding fact of the period.

Here is a state in which the foreign stock, 909,526 greatly outnumbers the native element, 501,004. According to its Vital Statistics, if any such process as is still going on should continue for a generation, the mongrel native stock would become a negligible factor as far as numbers are concerned. It is idle to say that immigration laws have limited or will shortly limit the number of aliens—that the children of recent immigrants will be Americans—and that the foreign birth rate will fall off as sophistication lessens the size of peasant families. Outstanding facts carry with them a sense of finality which it is difficult to brush aside.

1. At present industrial Connecticut and industrial New England are still calling for cheap foreign labor. If this call subsides during times of economic adjustment, it gathers volume with prosperity. Potently corrective as the new quota

law is proving, it will be a long time before it blocks outside alien labor from crossing the border. Lawful immigration which enters Atlantic ports is readily held in or directed to New England. The foreign colonies of Metropolitan New York are inexhaustible sources from which mill recruits may be drawn, and trafficers in unlawful immigration continue to be as scandalously active as the purveyors of hooch. For the present then Connecticut is not so fenced in as to exclude further incursions of the peoples who are to shape her destiny. This being so—her vital statistics will for some time reflect the definite influence that the alien or naturalized newcomer exerts.

2. Sometimes, masked as a native, sometimes obviously an immigrant, the European with accretions from Asia, is already breeding throughout Connecticut in such a way as promises to make this section distinctly foreign in its personnel.

3. The Yankee birth rate is not gaining, and the older generation is disappearing. I have said that conditions affecting the personnel of Connecticut reflect those affecting the personnel of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The statement is eminently true as to the whole industrial part of the section we are studying. Unless manufacturing policies change, foreign cheap labor will continue to come in as wanted. For reasons familiar to the economist and sociologist this foreign element by inter-marriage and by foreign

alliances with Americans who were immigrants yesterday, will add indefinitely to its ranks by natural increase. The Yankee factor will diminish for reasons too well understood.

In carefully noting the fact that the newer human element in New England is making a very large contribution to the birth rate, I have used the words foreign or mixed parentage, including cases where both parents were foreign, and those where one parent was American. I hazard the opinion that if inquiry were made it would appear that nineteen-twentieths of the so-called American parents who mate with foreigners are themselves the children of foreigners. This should be borne in mind by those who have drawn the conclusion that the older American is inter-marrying with foreign stock.

What then of the births assigned to American parents? In Maine, New Hampshire and especially in Vermont the children thus referred to are largely of Anglo-Saxon or at least of English-speaking stock. In Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, as is disclosed in town tabulations of persons contracting marriage, the parents designated as Americans are frequently children of the first or second generation in New England.

A word in closing, as to the children of mixed American and European parents, and the children of Americans who are yet European at heart.

One acquainted with New England does not have to examine the data here presented to learn that there are great multitudes of such in the favored region we are studying. Does any one doubt that these children reflect and will reflect European ideas, philosophies, and political tendencies? You may call the parents of new-born babies foreign or native, but if the latter do not get the American culture, they will not be a conduit for American traditions.

CHAPTER XXIII

YANKEE CULTURE—THE IMMIGRANT'S HOPE

SHALL we now have done with statistical data and discuss the future of New England?

It has been seen that the people who inhabit this section are heterogeneous, and instead of resembling the nearly pure Yankee stock of forty years ago, are preëminently European. They will so continue unless Yankee culture, surviving the Yankee, becomes their culture. In this case it is not improbable that they will ultimately bear the characteristics that earlier connoted the American.

Are there chances of this latter consummation? Not many—perhaps none—unless an inspired leadership is developed. This plainly will not come from the mature New Englander now in the saddle. He has shown no aptitude for spiritual problems of this character. Neither can it develop in the fine leadership of those groups of new citizens who remain loyal to the impulse which brought them across seas. They and their children are not lacking in ardor, but Yankee

conservatism will play the dog in the manger until it is forced to yield its hegemony. This inspired leadership may, and probably will come, if at all, from the progeny of the present Yankee generation (which, to say the least, is rather commonplace), ennobled by the sense of a great responsibility.

Being persuaded then that New England is to be nothing more nor less than a little Europe, with all its festering immoralities and bizarre theories, unless there is a miraculous comeback on the part of the Yankee youth, I now intend to examine present conditions with a view to ascertaining the possibility of such an eventuation.

Here is a meeting of nations and cultures like unto that of Babel. As yet the English-speaking group directs or assumes to direct matters moral, political and economic. The Yankee is in the banks and for the most part controls the manufacture and distribution of commodities. This gives him prestige in politics, which are not over-clean. His vote is inconsequential, but his present leadership, because of inherited wealth, exceptional ability and tradition, is unquestioned. *If his sons and daughters wake to the responsibility that accompanies great possessions, talent, and fortunate birth, they will be given enviable opportunities to serve the public and their generation.* This is because of the naïve regard which the new citizens,

who are capable of dominating, or who do dominate in their racial circles, have for the people they are supplanting. "Regard"—you say. "Nonsense!"—and you point out many instances in which conspicuous persons in the foreign colonies have directed hostile demonstrations to show their hatred of Yankee employers.

I am familiar with the story of strike and lockout, of bad blood between labor and capital, of clash and riot. Again and again, sometimes in dismay, I have read unbiased reports from temporary seats of local war, or watched the reaction upon excited crowds of eloquent racial appeal. Knowing something of such facts I do not hesitate to say that the average leader in a movement for wage readjustment has the sort of respect that recognizes power, for the average Yankee capitalist. But this is not the sort of person to whom I am referring when I speak of the regard which those who really loom high in the racial circles of New England have for the Yankee at his best. Such individuals are rarely in evidence during times of industrial unrest. They are occupied with their professions, their own particular callings. They are perhaps busy in opening new fields for the employment of their brethren, or in looking after the fiscal and domestic affairs of the latter. Meantime with other onlookers they are keen to inform themselves as to the issues which arise between labor and capital. Not a

movement escapes them where non-English speaking compatriots are concerned. No sooner is the imported strike-leader on the ground than they have appraised him. They know whether the cause is just, whether their people are being exploited by professional trouble makers or not, what the chances of victory are. Thus advised, they ultimately exert a greater—if less advertised influence than the agitator of the moment. The latter looms large in a temporary movement and is then forgotten. The soul and the directive impulse behind the racial group is the man or woman (no other than the leader we are now discussing), who best interprets its culture while performing the thousand and one services which win affection. *This man or woman constituting the sub-conscious mind of the foreign mass in New England, admires the potency of the Yankee genius, and I state it hopefully, is not disinclined to accept its political standards,* IF REASONABLE CONSIDERATION IS CONCEDED.

I have stressed the words—"If reasonable consideration is conceded." This means that the Yankee, now a diminishing factor in the community, must eliminate many a prejudice if he is to salvage the institutions which his father shaped for humanity. The Frenchman, the Italian, the Slav, the Celt, has his own culture. Few are the races that are without some particular virtue. Each is contributing something of im-

portance to the complex people now shaping in New England. All are desirous that ancestral virtues shall persist, and to this end are disposed to use the American political system which owes so much to the builders of New England, and which is Catholic enough to safeguard all excellences. All have as much, if not more regard for the native American stock than for the various other racial groups which compete with them.

Such conditions open an opportunity without parallel to the Yankee youth of the generation now coming on the stage. It can qualify for leadership, if it will. Will it? It is a regrettable fact that this depends somewhat upon the influences under which it is coming to maturity.

As one may gather from earlier pages I am not much impressed with the sagacity of those in control of New England affairs who have claimed Yankee lineage since the Civil War. Forceful? Yes. Gifted? Yes, but not prudent like their sires or they would not have opened the floodgates which brought in the immigrant tide; or they would not have stood by and watched the rising waters inundate their heritage. The fact is that the great holocaust of the Sixties sought out and immolated a large proportion of the youth upon whom New England relied for the maintenance of a proud tradition. The expressed agony of this section, still manifest in the pages

of thousands of printed memorials, conveyed more than a sense of personal loss endlessly repeated. *It reflected an apprehension for the future.* You may ridicule the majority of the statues of the volunteer soldier of 1861–65 in forage cap and belted blouse that occupy the exact centers of civic life in every New England town and city, but you do homage to the brave spirits they commemorate. You cannot rid yourself of a deep assurance that the bearded boys who bore the names carved in bronze or marble beneath the militant figures would have been adequate to solve the problems of an era that they were not to see. Suppose those who particularly distinguished themselves by yielding up their young lives, had been permitted to break through and survive the hot flame of Antietam, of Gettysburg, and other sanguinary battles! Would they have sacrificed honorable security to the thirst for acquisition? It is unbelievable! This unwitting mischief was left for those thrust into their places by the economy of life—the men and women from whom the present day youngsters are sprung. That these have manifested high virtue none will gainsay. The facts that I have given do not indict them for lack of courage, faculty for research, and co-ordination, or a hundred amiable and desirable qualities. But they do challenge their sagacity. It is a fair question as to whether the sons and daughters of their loins

inherit from earlier sires qualities which their immediate forebears unhappily failed to put in evidence; or, being so possessed, will shake loose from any unworthy objectives of the homes from which they come.

There are those who will be quick to answer—"No, they do not inherit the qualities now called for. If they did, they would not put them in action." *I am not among these!*

Such protestors will point with reason to benumbing wealth righteously accumulated, but brain-befuddling, and will tell you that vested interests paralyze the progeny of the possessor, and provide for the children of the rich other entertainment than looking after the public welfare. To push home their argument they will cite well-known Yankee family titles that have been brought into discredit by prosperity—honorable titles now borne by money-grubbers, and by the flotsam and jetsam of degeneracy that bobs about in the wake of advancing fortunes.

They will ask in turn—Can any one expect to find high inherited virtues with God-like ability to act politically in the children of a commercial period which smacks of degeneracy?

I grant that it seems unreasonable to cherish such faith in the face of the facts stated, which are incontrovertible. Especially is this true when one takes into consideration other truths like those that follow. The Yankee of today is in the

bondage of industrial complexity. Apparently unfit, he faces problems greater than those that phased the fit, if wounded, Yankee of the post Civil War epoch. He has bartered the faith that impelled his ancestors, for sophistication. No "hand is reached to him from out the dark," in climacteric moments. He sniffs at tradition, is at odds with himself, and is without constructive political genius. Inadequate, he finds himself "cabined, cribbed and confined," a minority in a political community constructed for his own advantage, with his resources utterly controlled by those who have little sympathy for his projects. Reviewing these ugly realities, no wonder that the pessimist says—"Why not close the book? We are facing issues which cannot be met by a weakling. Yankee culture will vanish with the stock from which it originated. The day of the Yankee is finished."

I have said, however, that *I am not in sympathy with those who despair of the Yankee as a potent force in the community.* This is not because I deny the cogency of their reasoning, but because I am a believer in the marvelous; and am not unmindful of the manner in which an apparently supine youth reacts to the imperious pull of exigency and dazzling opportunity. *What has been—shall be!* Yesterday it was Gold in California—Railroads across the Prairies—Diamonds in Africa—the last supreme sacrifice for Country.

Tomorrow—*why not championship of the ordered Liberty evolved by Yankee culture?*

Only the other day President Lowell of Harvard University said that which strengthens my position. Discussing the failure of educators to reach what is best in the average college man, he adroitly flashed out the fact that the late War transferred this laggard who shirks ordinary responsibilities, into a radiant personality, a heroic figure.

To them today comes a call, more bitingly insistent than that which fired Sam Adams when the rights of free Britons were endangered—of far greater import than that which sent New England champions of the Union surging across Mason's and Dixon's line. It is an appeal of the fathers, honored and beloved—for the sort of action that will save their memories from being blotted out. It is a rallying cry for the sort of generous action that re-creates peoples, stirs society, and shakes the World.

New England, including those whom she has welcomed of late years, and who are worthy of her, challenges the youth of a disappearing Yankee stock to provide the sort of magnetic leadership which will make Yankee culture permanent.

It is a truism to say that adversity, not prosperity, creates God-like personalities. Men flounder and flunk when coddled and pampered. They become materialists, wise in their own conceit, and decadents. It takes the awful imminence of impending doom such as threatens the race that built classic New England to wake creative power in the human.

Perhaps the darkening shadows will compel some such manifestation.